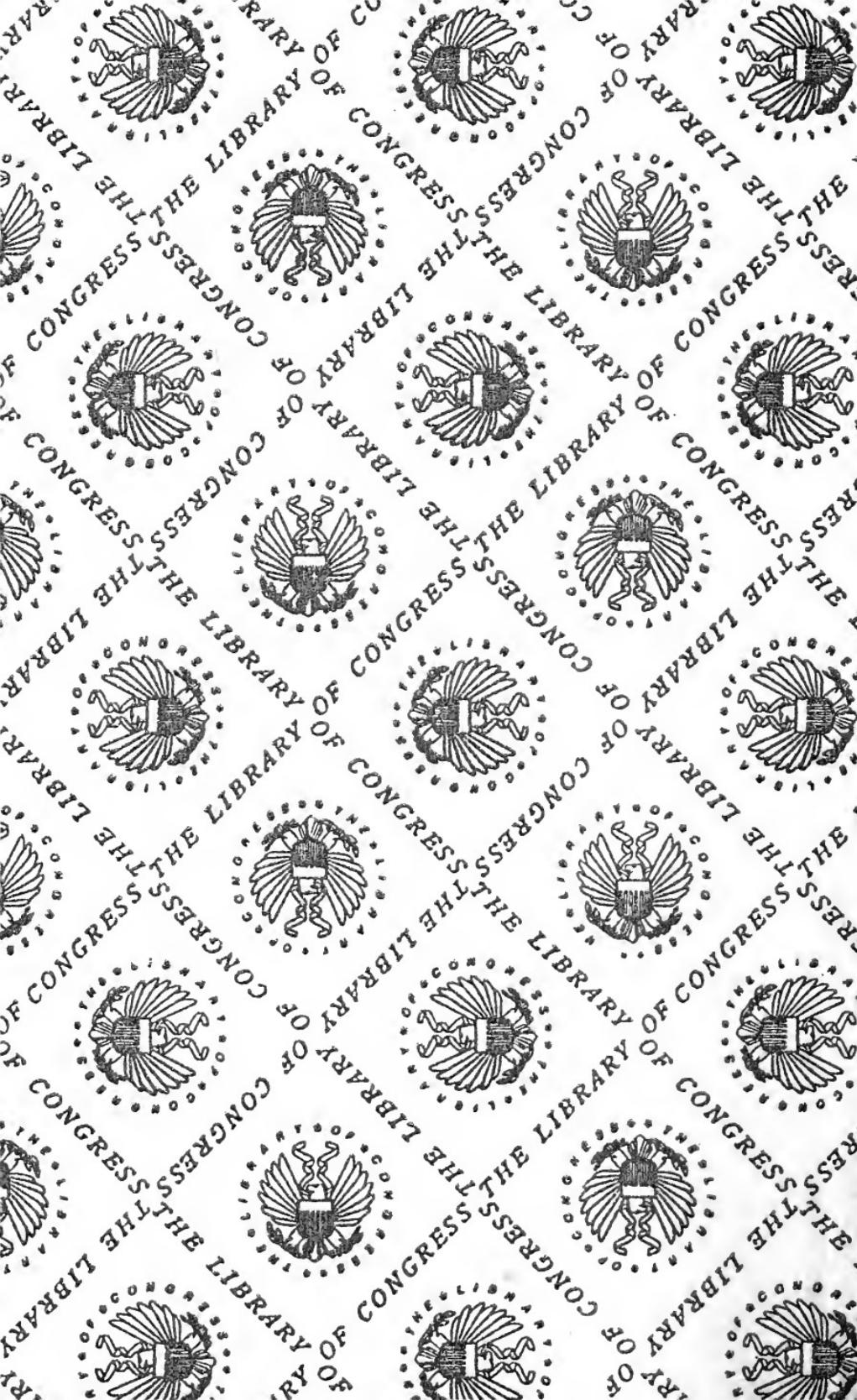


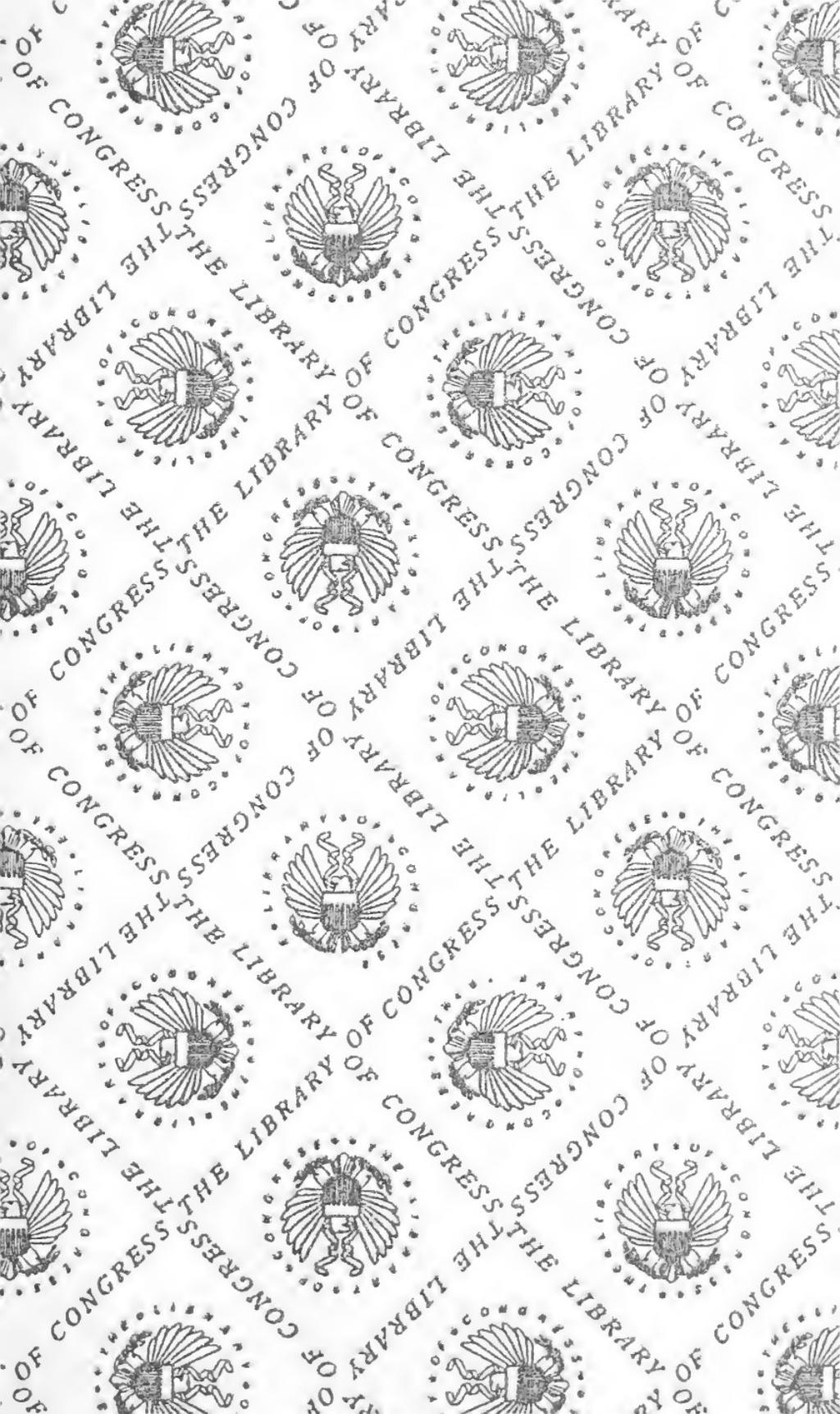
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HISTORIC DOUBTS

RELATIVE TO

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

AND

HISTORIC CERTAINTIES

RESPECTING THE

EARLY HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BY

RICHARD WHATELY, D. D.,

Late Archbishop of Dublin.

NEW YORK:

ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS,
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Is not the same reason available in theology and in politics? . . .
Will you follow truth but to a certain point?—BURKE'S *Vindication
of Natural Society*.

The first author who stated fairly the connexion between the evidence of testimony and the evidence of experience, was Hume, in his ESSAY ON MIRACLES; a work *abounding in maxims of great use in* the conduct of life.—*Edinburgh Review*, Sept. 1814, p. 328.



P R E F A C E

SEVERAL of the readers of this little work have derived much amusement from the mistakes of others respecting its nature and object. It has been by some represented as a serious attempt to inculcate universal scepticism ; while others have considered it as a jeu d'esprit, &c. The Author does not, however, design to entertain his readers with accounts of the mistakes which have arisen respecting it ; because many of them, he is convinced, would be received with incredulity ; and he could not, without an indelicate exposure of individuals, verify his anecdotes.

But some sensible readers have complained of the difficulty of determining *what* they are to believe. Of the existence of Buonaparte, indeed, they remained fully convinced ; nor, if it were left doubtful, would any important results ensue ; but if they can give no *satisfactory reason* for their conviction,

how can they know, it is asked, that they may not be mistaken as to other points of greater consequence, on which they are no less fully convinced, but on which all men are *not* agreed ? The Author has accordingly been solicited to endeavour to frame some canons which may furnish a standard for determining what evidence is to be received.

This he conceives to be impracticable, except to that extent to which it is accomplished by a sound system of Logic ; including under that title, a portion —that which relates to the “Laws of Evidence”—of what is sometimes treated of under the head of “Rhetoric.” But the full and complete accomplishment of such an object would confer on man the unattainable attribute of infallibility.

But the difficulty complained of, he conceives to arise, in many instances, from men’s *misstating the grounds of their own conviction*. They are convinced, indeed, and perhaps with very sufficient reason ; but they imagine this reason to be a different one from what it is. The evidence to which they have assented is applied to their minds in a different manner from that in which they believe it is—and suppose it ought to be—applied. And when challenged to defend and justify their own belief, they feel at a loss, because

they are attempting to maintain a position which is not in fact that in which their force lies.

For a development of the nature, the consequences and the remedies of this mistake, the reader is referred to "Hinds on Inspiration," pp. 30—46. If such a development is to be found in any earlier works, the Author of the following pages at least has never chanced to meet with any attempt of the kind.*

It has been objected, again, by some persons of no great logical accuracy of thought, that as there would not be any *moral blame* imputable to one who should seriously disbelieve, or doubt, the existence of Buonaparte, so neither is a rejection of the Scripture histories to be considered as implying anything morally culpable.

The same objection, such as it is, would apply equally to many of the Parables of the New Testament. It might be said, for instance, that as a woman who should decline taking the trouble of searching for her lost "piece of silver," or a merchant who should neglect making an advantageous purchase of a "goodly pearl," would be guilty of no moral wrong, it must follow that there is nothing morally wrong in

* See *Elements of Rhetoric*, p. i. ch. 2, § 4.

neglecting to reclaim a lost sinner, or in rejecting the Gospel, &c.

But any man of common sense readily perceives that the force of these parables consists in the circumstance that men do *not* usually show this carelessness about temporal goods; and, therefore, are guilty of gross and culpable *inconsistency* if they are comparatively careless about what is far more important.

So, also, in the present case. If any man's mind were so constituted as to reject the same evidence in *all* matters alike—if, for instance, he really doubted or disbelieved the existence of Buonaparte, and considered the Egyptian pyramids as fabulous, because, forsooth, he had no “experience” of the erection of such huge structures, and *had* experience of travellers telling huge lies—he would be regarded, perhaps, as very silly, or as insane, but not as morally culpable. But if (as is intimated in the concluding sentence of this work) a man is influenced in one case by objections which, in another case, he would deride, then he stands convicted of being unfairly biassed by his prejudices.

It is only necessary to add, that as this work first appeared in the year 1819, many things are spoken

of in the present tense, to which the past would now be applicable.

A Postscript was added to the third edition, which was published soon after the accounts of Buonaparte's death reached us; and another at the time of the supposed removal of his remains. A third, in reference to more recent occurrences, was added to the ninth edition.



HISTORIC DOUBTS

RELATIVE TO

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

LONG as the public attention has been occupied by the extraordinary personage from whose ambition we are supposed to have so narrowly escaped, the subject seems to have lost scarcely anything of its interest. We are still occupied in recounting the exploits, discussing the character, inquiring into the present situation, and even conjecturing as to the future prospects of Napoleon Buonaparte.

Nor is this at all to be wondered at, if we consider the very extraordinary nature of those exploits, and of that character; their great-

ness and extensive importance, as well as the unexampled strangeness of the events, and also that strong additional stimulant, the mysterious uncertainty that hangs over the character of the man. If it be doubtful whether any history (exclusive of such as is confessedly fabulous) ever attributed to its hero such a series of wonderful achievements compressed into so small a space of time, it is certain that to no one were ever assigned so many dissimilar characters.

It is true, indeed, that party prejudices have drawn a favourable and an unfavourable portrait of almost every eminent man ; but amidst all the diversities of colouring, something of the same general outline is always distinguishable. And even the virtues in the one description bear some resemblance to the vices of another : rashness, for instance, will be called courage, or courage, rashness ; heroic firmness, and obstinate pride, will correspond in the two opposite descriptions ; and in some leading features both will agree. Neither the friends nor the enemies of Philip

of Macedon, or of Julius Cæsar, ever questioned their COURAGE, or their MILITARY SKILL.

With Buonaparte, however, it has been otherwise. This obscure Corsican adventurer, a man, according to some, of extraordinary talents and courage, according to others, of very moderate abilities, and a rank coward, advanced rapidly in the French army, obtained a high command, gained a series of important victories, and, elated by success, embarked in an expedition against Egypt; which was planned and conducted, according to some, with the most consummate skill, according to others, with the utmost wildness and folly; he was unsuccessful, however; and leaving the army of Egypt in a very distressed situation, he returned to France, and found the nation, or at least the army, so favourably disposed towards him, that he was enabled, with the utmost ease, to overthrow the existing government, and obtain for himself the supreme power; at first under the modest appellation of Consul, but afterwards with the more sounding title of Emperor. While

in possession of this power, he overthrew the most powerful coalitions of the other European States against him; and though driven from the sea by the British fleets, overran nearly the whole continent, triumphant; finishing a war, not unfrequently, in a single campaign, he entered the capitals of most of the hostile potentates, deposed and created Kings at his pleasure, and appeared the virtual sovereign of the chief part of the continent, from the frontiers of Spain to those of Russia. Even those countries we find him invading with prodigious armies, defeating their forces, penetrating to their capitals, and threatening their total subjugation. But at Moscow his progress is stopped: a winter of unusual severity, co-operating with the efforts of the Russians, totally destroys his enormous host: and the German sovereigns throw off the yoke, and combine to oppose him. He raises another vast army, which is also ruined at Leipsic; and again another, with which, like a second Antæus, he for some time maintains himself in France; but is finally defeat-

ed, deposed, and banished to the island of Elba, of which the sovereignty is conferred on him. Thence he returns, in about nine months, at the head of 600 men, to attempt the deposition of King Louis, who had been peaceably recalled ; the French nation declare in his favour, and he is reinstated without a struggle. He raises another great army to oppose the allied powers, which is totally defeated at Waterloo ; he is a second time deposed, surrenders to the British, and is placed in confinement at the island of St. Helena. Such is the outline of the eventful history presented to us ; in the detail of which, however, there is almost every conceivable variety of statement ; while the motives and conduct of the chief actor are involved in still greater doubt, and the subject of still more eager controversy.

In the midst of these controversies, the preliminary question, concerning the *existence* of this extraordinary personage, seems never to have occurred to any one as a matter of

doubt ; and to show even the smallest hesitation in admitting it, would probably be regarded as an excess of scepticism ; on the ground that this point has always been taken for granted by the disputants on all sides, being indeed implied by the very nature of their disputes.

But is it in fact found that *undisputed* points are always such as have been the most carefully examined as to the evidence on which they rest ? that facts or principles which are taken for granted, without controversy, as the common basis of opposite opinions, are always themselves established on sufficient grounds ? On the contrary, is not any such fundamental point, from the very circumstance of its being taken for granted at once, and the attention drawn off to some other question, likely to be admitted on insufficient evidence, and the flaws in that evidence overlooked ? Experience will teach us that such instances often occur : witness, the well-known anecdote of the Royal Society ; to whom King Charles II. proposed as a ques-

tion, whence it is that a vessel of water receives no addition of weight from a live fish being put into it, though it does, if the fish be dead. Various solutions, of great ingenuity, were proposed, discussed, objected to, and defended ; nor was it till they had been long bewildered in the inquiry, that it occurred to them to *try the experiment* ; by which they at once ascertained, that the phenomenon which they were striving to account for,—which was the acknowledged basis and substratum, as it were, of their debates,—had no existence but in the invention of the witty monarch.*

Another instance of the same kind is so

* “A report is spread, (says Voltaire in one of his works,) that there is, in some country or other, a giant as big as a mountain ; and men presently fall to hot disputing concerning the precise length of his nose, the breadth of his thumb, and other particulars, and anathematize each other for heterodoxy of belief concerning them. In the midst of all, if some bold sceptic ventures to hint a doubt as to the existence of this giant, all are ready to join against him, and tear him to pieces.” This looks almost like a prophetic allegory relating to the gigantic Napoleon.

very remarkable that I cannot forbear mentioning it. It was objected to the system of Copernicus when first brought forward, that if the earth turned on its axis as he represented, a stone dropped from the summit of a tower would not fall at the foot of it, but at a great distance to the west; *in the same manner as a stone dropped from the mast-head of a ship in full sail, does not fall at the foot of the mast, but towards the stern.* To this it was answered, that a stone being a *part* of the earth obeys the same laws, and moves with it; whereas, it is no part of the ship; of which, consequently, its motion is independent. This solution was admitted by some, but opposed by others; and the controversy went on with spirit; nor was it till *one hundred years* after the death of Copernicus, that the experiment being tried, it was ascertained that the stone thus dropped from the head of the mast *does fall at the foot of it!**

* Οὕτως ἀταλαιπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται. Thucyd. b. i. c. 26.

Let it be observed that I am not now impugning any one particular narrative; but merely showing generally, that what is *unquestioned* is not necessarily unquestionable; since men will often, at the very moment when they are accurately sifting the evidence of some disputed point, admit hastily, and on the most insufficient grounds, what they have been accustomed to see taken for granted.

The celebrated Hume* has pointed out, also, the readiness with which men believe, on very slight evidence, any story that pleases their imagination by its admirable and marvellous character. Such hasty credulity, however, as he well remarks, is utterly unworthy of a philosophical mind; which should rather

* "With what greediness are the miraculous accounts of travellers received, their descriptions of sea and land monsters, their relations of wonderful adventures, strange men, and uncouth manners!"—HUME'S *Essay on Miracles*, p. 179, 12mo; p. 185, 8vo, 1767; p. 117, 8vo, 1817.

N. B.—In order to give every possible facility of reference, three editions of Hume's Essays have been generally employed; a 12mo, London, 1756, and two 8vo editions.

suspend its judgment the more, in proportion to the strangeness of the account, and yield to none but the most decisive and unimpeachable proofs.

Let it, then, be allowed us, as is surely reasonable, just to inquire with respect to the extraordinary story I have been speaking of, on what evidence we believe it. We shall be told that it is *notorious*; i. e., in plain English, it is very *much talked about*. But as the generality of those who talk about Buonaparte do not even pretend to speak from *their own authority*, but merely to repeat what they have casually heard, we cannot reckon them as in any degree witnesses; but must allow ninety-nine hundredths of what we are told to be mere hearsay, which would not be at all the more worthy of credit even if it were repeated by ten times as many more. As for those who profess to have *personally known* Napoleon Buonaparte, and to have *themselves witnessed* his transactions, I write not for them: *if any such there be*, who are inwardly conscious of the truth of all they relate, I have

nothing to say to them, but to beg that they will be tolerant and charitable towards their neighbours, who have not the same means of ascertaining the truth, and who may well be excused for remaining doubtful about such extraordinary events, till most unanswerable proofs shall be adduced. “I would not have believed such a thing, if I had not seen it,” is a common preface or appendix to a narrative of marvels ; and usually calls forth from an intelligent hearer the appropriate answer, “*No more will I.*”

Let us, however, endeavour to trace up some of this hearsay evidence as far towards its source as we are able. Most persons would refer to the *newspapers* as the authority from which their knowledge on the subject was derived ; so that, generally speaking, we may say it is on the testimony of the newspapers that men believe in the existence and exploits of Napoleon Buonaparte.

It is rather a remarkable circumstance, that it is common to hear Englishmen speak of the impudent fabrications of foreign news-

papers, and express wonder that any one can be found to credit them; while they conceive that, in this favoured land, the liberty of the press is a sufficient security for veracity. It is true they often speak contemptuously of such “newspaper stories” as last but a short time; indeed they continually see them contradicted within a day or two in the same paper, or their falsity detected by some journal of an opposite party; but still whatever is *long adhered to* and often *repeated*, especially if it also appear in *several different* papers (and this, though they notoriously copy from one another), is almost sure to be generally believed. Whence this high respect which is practically paid to newspaper authority? Do men think, that because a witness has been perpetually detected in falsehood, he may therefore be the more safely believed whenever he is *not* detected? or does adherence to a story, and frequent repetition of it, render it the more credible? On the contrary, is it not a common remark in other cases, that a liar will generally stand to and

reiterate what he has once said, merely because he *has* said it?

Let us, if possible, divest ourselves of this superstitious veneration for everything that appears "in print," and examine a little more systematically the evidence which is adduced.

I suppose it will not be denied, that the three following are among the most important points to be ascertained, in deciding on the credibility of witnesses; first, whether they have the means of gaining correct *information*; secondly, whether they have any *interest* in concealing truth, or propagating falsehood; and thirdly, whether they *agree* in their testimony. Let us examine the present witnesses upon all these points.

First, what means have the editors of newspapers for gaining correct information? We know not, except from their own statements. Besides what is copied from other journals, foreign or British, (which is usually more than three-fourths of the news pub-

lished,)* they profess to refer to the authority of certain “private correspondents” abroad; *who* these correspondents are, what means *they* have of obtaining information, or whether they exist at all, we have no way of ascertaining. We find ourselves in the condition of the Hindoos, who are told by their priests

* “Suppose a fact to be transmitted through twenty persons; the first communicating it to the second, the second to the third, &c., and let the probability of each testimony be expressed by nine-tenths, (that is, suppose that of ten reports made by each witness, nine only are true,) then, at every time the story passes from one witness to another, the evidence is reduced to nine-tenths of what it was before. Thus, after it has passed through the whole twenty, the evidence will be found to be less than one-eighth.”—LA PLACE, *Essai Philosophique sur les Probabilités*.

That is, the chances for the fact thus attested being true, will be, according to this distinguished calculator, less than one in eight. Very few of the common newspaper stories, however, relating to foreign countries, could be traced, if the matter were carefully investigated, up to an actual eye-witness, even through twenty intermediate witnesses; and many of the steps of our ladder would, I fear, prove but rotten; few of the reporters would deserve to have *one in ten* fixed as the proportion of their false accounts.

that the earth stands on an elephant, and the elephant on a tortoise; but are left to find out for themselves what the tortoise stands on, or whether it stands on anything at all.

So much for our clear knowledge of the means of *information* possessed by these witnesses; next for the grounds on which we are to calculate on their *veracity*.

Have they not a manifest interest in circulating the wonderful accounts of Napoleon Buonaparte and his achievements, whether true or false? Few would read newspapers if they did not sometimes find wonderful or important news in them; and we may safely say that no subject was ever found so inexhaustibly interesting as the present.

It may be urged, however, that there are several adverse political parties, of which the various public prints are respectively the organs, and who would not fail to expose each other's fabrications.* Doubtless they

* "I did not mention the difficulty of detecting a falsehood in any private, or even public history, at the time and place where it is said to happen; much more where the

would, if they could do so without at the same time exposing *their own*; but identity of interests may induce a community of operations up to a certain point. And let it be observed that the object of contention between these rival parties is, *who* shall have the administration of public affairs, the control of public expenditure, and the disposal of places: the question, I say, is not, whether the people shall be governed or not, but, *by which party* they shall be governed;—not whether the taxes shall be paid or not, but *who* shall receive them. Now it must be admitted, that Buonaparte is a political bugbear, most convenient to *any* administration: “If you do not adopt our measures and reject those of our opponents, Buonaparte will be sure to prevail over you; if you do not submit to the Government, at least under *our*

scene is removed to ever so small a distance. But the matter never comes to any issue, if trusted to the common method of altercation and debate and flying rumours.”—HUME’s *Essay on Miracles*, p. 195, 12mo; pp. 200, 8vo. 1767; p. 127, 8vo. 1817.

administration, this formidable enemy will take advantage of your insubordination, to conquer and enslave you: pay your taxes cheerfully, or the tremendous Buonaparte will take all from you." Buonaparte, in short, was the burden of every song; his redoubted name was the charm which always succeeded in unloosing the purse-strings of the nation. And let us not be too sure,* safe as we now think ourselves, that some occasion may not occur for again producing on the stage so useful a personage: it is not merely to naughty children in the nursery that the threat of being "given to Buonaparte" has proved effectual.

It is surely probable, therefore, that, with an object substantially the same, all parties may have availed themselves of one common instrument. It is not necessary to suppose that for this purpose they secretly entered into a formal agreement; though, by the way, there are reports afloat, that the editors of the

* See the third Postscript appended to this edition.

Courier and *Morning Chronicle* hold amicable consultations as to the conduct of their public warfare : I will not take upon me to say that this is incredible ; but at any rate it is not necessary for the establishment of the probability I contend for. Neither again would I imply that *all* newspaper editors are utterers of forged stories, "knowing them to be forged ;" most likely the great majority of them publish what they find in other papers with the same simplicity that their readers peruse it; and therefore, it must be observed, are not at all more proper than their readers to be cited as authorities.

Still it will be said, that unless we suppose a regularly preconcerted plan, we must at least expect to find great discrepancies in the accounts published. Though they might adopt the general outline of facts one from another, they would have to fill up the detail for themselves ; and in this, therefore, we should meet with infinite and irreconcileable variety.

Now this is precisely the point I am tend-

ing to ; for the fact exactly accords with the above supposition ; the discordance and mutual contradictions of these witnesses being such as would alone throw a considerable shade of doubt over their testimony. It is not in minute circumstances alone that the discrepancy appears, such as might be expected to appear in a narrative substantially true ; but in very great and leading transactions, and such as are very intimately connected with the supposed hero. For instance, it is by no means agreed whether Buonaparte led in person the celebrated charge over the bridge of Lodi, (for *celebrated* it certainly is, as well as the siege of Troy, whether either event ever really took place or no,) or was safe in the rear, while Augereau performed the exploit. The same doubt hangs over the charge of the French cavalry at Waterloo. The peasant Lacoste, who professed to have been Buonaparte's guide on the day of battle, and who earned a fortune by detailing over and over again to visitors all the particulars of what the great man said and did up to the

moment of flight,—this same Lacoste has been suspected by others, besides me, of having never even been near the great man, and having fabricated the whole story for the sake of making a gain of the credulity of travellers. In the accounts that are extant of the battle itself, published by persons professing to have been present, the reader will find that there is a discrepancy of *three or four hours* as to the time when the battle began!—a battle, be it remembered, not fought with javelins and arrows, like those of the ancients, in which one part of a large army might be engaged, while a distant portion of the same army knew nothing of it; but a battle commencing (if indeed it were ever fought at all) with the *firing of cannon*, which would have announced pretty loudly what was going on.

It is no less uncertain whether or no this strange personage poisoned in Egypt an hospital-full of his own soldiers, and butchered in cold blood a garrison that had surrendered. But not to multiply instances; the battle of Borodino, which is represented as one of the

greatest ever fought, was unequivocally claimed as a victory by both parties; nor is the question decided at this day. We have official accounts on both sides, circumstantially detailed, in the names of supposed respectable persons, professing to have been present on the spot; yet totally irreconcileable. *Both* these accounts *may* be false; but since *one* of them *must* be false, that one (it is no matter *which* we suppose) proves incontrovertibly this important maxim; that *it is possible for a narrative—however circumstantial—however steadily maintained—however public, and however important, the events it relates—however grave the authority on which it is published—to be nevertheless an entire fabrication!*

Many of the events which have been recorded were probably believed much the more readily and firmly, from the apparent caution and hesitation with which they were at first published,—the vehement contradiction in our papers of many pretended French accounts,—and the abuse lavished upon them

for falsehood, exaggeration, and gasconade. But is it not possible,—is it not indeed perfectly natural,—that the publishers even of known falsehood should assume this cautious demeanour, and this abhorrence of exaggeration, in order the more easily to gain credit? Is it not also very possible, that those who actually believed what they published, may have suspected mere *exaggeration* in stories which were entire *fictions*? Many men have that sort of simplicity, that they think themselves quite secure against being deceived, provided they believe only *part* of the story they hear; when perhaps the whole is equally false. So that perhaps these simple-hearted editors, who were so vehement against lying bulletins, and so wary in announcing their great news, were in the condition of a clown, who thinks he has bought a great bargain of a Jew because he has beat down the price perhaps from a guinea to a crown, for some article that is not really worth a groat.

With respect to the *character* of Buonaparte, the dissonance is, if possible, still great.

er. According to some, he was a wise, humane, magnanimous hero ; others paint him as a monster of cruelty, meanness, and perfidy : some, even of those who are most inveterate against him, speak very highly of his political and military ability ; others place him on the very verge of insanity. But allowing that all this may be the colouring of party-prejudice, (which surely is allowing a great deal,) there is one point to which such a solution will hardly apply : if there be anything that can be clearly ascertained in history, one would think it must be the *personal courage* of a *military man* ; yet here we are as much at a loss as ever ; at the very same times, and on the same occasions, he is described by different writers as a man of undaunted intrepidity, and as an absolute poltroon.

What, then, are we to believe ? If we are disposed to credit all that is told us, we must believe in the existence not only of one, but of two or three Buonapartes ; if we admit nothing but what is well-authenticated, we

shall be compelled to doubt of the existence of any.*

It appears, then, that those on whose testimony the existence and actions of Buonaparte are generally believed, fail in ALL the most essential points on which the credibility of witnesses depends: first, we have no assurance that they have access to correct information; secondly, they have an apparent interest in propagating falsehood; and, thirdly, they palpably contradict each other in the most important points.

Another circumstance which throws additional suspicion on these tales is, that the whig party, as they are called,—the warm advocates of liberty, and opposers of the encroachments of monarchical power,—have for some time past strenuously espoused the

* We entertain a suspicion concerning any matter of fact, "when the witnesses *contradict* each other; when they are of a *suspicious* character; when they have an *interest* in what they affirm."—HUME's *Essay on Miracles*, p. 172, 12mo; p. 176, 8vo, 1767; p. 131; 8vo, 1817.

cause, and vindicated the character of Buonaparte, who is represented by all as having been, if not a tyrant, at least an absolute despot. One of the most forward in this cause is a gentleman, who once stood foremost in holding up this very man to public execration,—who first published, and long maintained against popular incredulity, the accounts of his atrocities in Egypt. Now that such a course should be adopted for party-purposes, by those who are aware that the whole story is a fiction, and the hero of it imaginary, seems not very incredible; but if they believed in the real existence of this despot, I cannot conceive how they could so forsake their principles as to advocate his cause, and eulogize his character.

After all, it may be expected that many who perceive the force of these objections, will yet be loath to think it possible that they and the public at large can have been so long and so greatly imposed upon. And thus it is that the magnitude and boldness of a fraud becomes its best support; the millions who

for so many ages have believed in Mahomet or Brahma, lean as it were on each other for support; and not having vigour of mind enough boldly to throw off vulgar prejudices, and dare be wiser than the multitude, persuade themselves that what so many have acknowledged must be true. But I call on those who boast their philosophical freedom of thought, and would fain tread in the steps of Hume and other inquirers of the like exalted and speculative genius, to follow up fairly and fully their own principles, and, throwing off the shackles of authority, to examine carefully the evidence of whatever is proposed to them, before they admit its truth.

That even in this enlightened age, as it is called, a whole nation may be egregiously imposed upon, even in matters which intimately concern them, may be proved (if it has not been already proved) by the following instance: it was stated in the newspapers, that, a month after the battle of Trafalgar, an English officer, who had been a prisoner of

war, and was exchanged, returned to this country from France, and beginning to condole with his countrymen on the terrible *defeat* they had sustained, was infinitely astonished to learn that the battle of Trafalgar was a splendid victory: he had been assured, he said, that in that battle the English had been totally defeated; and the French were fully and universally persuaded that such was the fact. Now if this report of the belief of the French nation was *not* true, the British public were completely imposed upon; if it *were* true, then both nations were, at the same time, rejoicing in the event of the same battle, as a signal victory to themselves; and consequently one or other, at least, of these nations must have been the dupes of their government: for if the battle was never fought at all, or was not decisive on either side, in that case *both* parties were deceived. This instance, I conceive, is absolutely demonstrative of the point in question.

“But what shall we say to the testimony of those many respectable persons who went

to Plymouth on purpose, and saw Buonaparte with their own eyes? must they not trust their senses?" I would not disparage either the eyesight or the veracity of these gentlemen. I am ready to allow that they went to Plymouth for the purpose of seeing Buonaparte; nay, more, that they actually rowed out into the harbour in a boat, and came alongside of a man-of-war, on whose deck they saw a man in a cocked hat, who, *they were told*, was Buonaparte. This is the utmost point to which their testimony goes; how they ascertained that this man in the cocked hat had gone through all the marvellous and romantic adventures with which we have so long been amused, we are not told. Did they perceive in his physiognomy, his true name, and authentic history? Truly this evidence is such as country people give one for a story of apparitions; if you discover any signs of incredulity, they triumphantly show the very house which the ghost haunted, the identical dark corner where it used to vanish, and perhaps even the tombstone of the person whose

death it foretold. Jack Cade's nobility was supported by the same irresistible kind of evidence : having asserted that the eldest son of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, was stolen by a beggar-woman, "became a brick-layer when he came to age," and was the father of the supposed Jack Cade ; one of his companions confirms the story, by saying, "Sir, he made a chimney in my father's house, and the bricks are alive at this day to testify it ; therefore, deny it not."

Much of the same kind is the testimony of our brave countrymen, who are ready to produce the scars they received in fighting against this terrible Buonaparte. That they fought and were wounded, they may safely testify ; and probably they no less firmly *believe* what they were *told* respecting the cause in which they fought : it would have been a high breach of discipline to doubt it ; and they, I conceive, are men better skilled in handling a musket, than in sifting evidence, and detecting imposture. But I defy any one of them to come forward and declare, *on his*

own knowledge, what was the cause in which he fought,—under whose commands the opposed generals acted,—and whether the persons who issued those commands did really perform the mighty achievements we are told of.

Let those, then, who pretend to philosophical freedom of inquiry,—who scorn to rest their opinions on popular belief, and to shelter themselves under the example of the unthinking multitude, consider carefully, each one for himself, what is the evidence proposed to himself in particular, for the existence of such a person as Napoleon Buonaparte :— I do not mean, whether there ever was a person bearing that *name*, for that is a question of no consequence; but whether any such person ever performed all the wonderful things attributed to him ;— let him then weigh well the objections to that evidence, (of which I have given but a hasty and imperfect sketch,) and if he then finds it amount to anything *more* than a probability, I have only to congratulate him on his easy faith.

But the same testimony which would have great weight in establishing a thing intrinsically probable, will lose part of this weight in proportion as the matter attested is improbable; and if adduced in support of anything that is at variance with uniform experience,* will be rejected at once by all sound reasoners. Let us then consider what sort of a story it is that is proposed to our acceptance. How grossly contradictory are the reports of the different authorities, I have already remarked: but consider, by itself, the story told by any one of them; it carries an air of fiction and romance on the very face of it. All the events are great, and splendid, and marvellous; † great armies,—great victories,—

* “That testimony itself derives all its force from experience, seems very certain.
The first author, we believe, who stated fairly the connection between the evidence of testimony and the evidence of experience, was HUME, in his Essays on Miracles, a work . . abounding in maxims of great use in the conduct of life.”
Edin. Review, Sept. 1814, p. 328.

† “Suppose, for instance, that the fact which the testimony endeavours to establish partakes of the extraordinary

great frosts,—great reverses,—“hair-breadth ’scapes,”—empires subverted in a few days; everything happened in defiance of political calculations, and in opposition to the *experience* of past times; everything upon that grand scale, so common in Epic Poetry, so rare in real life; and thus calculated to strike the imagination of the vulgar, and to remind the sober-thinking few of the Arabian Nights. Every event, too, has that *roundness* and completeness which is so characteristic of fiction; nothing is done by halves; we have *complete* victories,—*total* overthrows,—*entire* subversion of empires,—*perfect* re-establishments of them,—crowded upon us in rapid succession. To enumerate the improbabilities of each of the several parts of this history, would fill volumes; but they are so fresh in every one’s memory, that there is no need of

and the marvellous; in that case, the evidence resulting from the testimony receives a diminution, greater or less in proportion as the fact is more or less unusual.”—HUME’S *Essay on Miracles*, p. 173, 12mo; p. 176, 8vo, 1767; p. 113, 8vo, 1817.

such a detail: let any judicious man, not ignorant of history and of human nature, resolve them in his mind, and consider how far they are conformable to Experience,* our best and only sure guide. In vain will he seek in history for something similar to this wonderful Buonaparte; “nought but himself can be his parallel.”

Will the conquests of Alexander be compared with his? *They* were effected over a rabble of effeminate, undisciplined barbarians; else his progress would hardly have been so rapid: witness his father Philip, who was much longer occupied in subduing the comparatively insignificant territory of the warlike and civilized Greeks, notwithstanding their being divided into numerous petty States, whose mutual jealousy enabled him to contend with them separately. But the Greeks had never made such progress in arts

* “The ultimate standard by which we determine all disputes that may arise is always derived from experience and observation.”—HUME’s *Essay on Miracles*, p. 172, 12mo; p. 175, 8vo, 1767; p. 112, 8vo, 1817.

and arms as the great and powerful States of Europe, which Buonaparte is represented as so speedily overpowering. His empire has been compared to the Roman: mark the contrast; he gains in a few years, that dominion, or at least control, over Germany, wealthy, civilized, and powerful, which the Romans in the plenitude of their power, could not obtain, during a struggle of as many centuries, against the ignorant half-savages who then possessed it; of whom Tacitus remarks, that, up to his own time they had been “triumphed over rather than conquered.”

Another peculiar circumstance in the history of this extraordinary personage is, that when it is found convenient to represent him as defeated, though he is by no means defeated by halves, but involved in much more sudden and total ruin than the personages of real history usually meet with; yet, if it is thought fit he should be restored, it is done as quickly and completely as if Merlin’s rod had been employed. He enters Russia with a prodigious army, which is totally ruined by

an unprecedented hard winter; (everything relating to this man is *prodigious* and *unprecedented*;) yet in a few months we find him intrusted with another great army in Germany, which is also totally ruined at Leipsic; making, inclusive of the Egyptian, the third great army thus totally lost: yet the French are so good-natured as to furnish him with another, sufficient to make a formidable stand in France; he is, however, *conquered, and presented with the sovereignty of Elba*; (surely, by the bye, some more *probable* way might have been found of disposing of him, till again wanted, than to place him thus on the very verge of his ancient dominions;) thence he returns to France, where he is received with open arms, and enabled to lose a fifth great army at Waterloo; yet so eager were these people to be a sixth time led to destruction, that it was found necessary to confine *him* in an island some thousand miles off, and to quarter foreign troops upon *them*, lest they should make an insurrection in his

favour! * Does any one believe all this, and yet refuse to believe a miracle? Or rather, what is this but a miracle? Is it not a violation of the laws of nature? for surely there are moral laws of nature as well as physical; which though more liable to exceptions in this or that particular case, are no less *true as general rules* than the laws of matter, and therefore cannot be violated and contradicted *beyond a certain point*, without a miracle. †

* Ἡ θαύματα πολλά.

Καὶ πού τι καὶ βροτῶν φρένας

ΤΠΕΡ ΤΟΝ ΑΛΗΘΗΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ

Δεδειδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις

Εξαπατῶντι μῦθοι. PIND. Olymp. 1.

† This doctrine, though hardly needing confirmation from authority, is supported by that of Hume; his eighth essay is, throughout, an argument for the doctrine of "Philosophical necessity," drawn entirely from the general uniformity, observable in the course of nature with respect to the principles of *human conduct*, as well as those of the material universe; from which uniformity, he observes, it is that we are enabled, *in both cases*, to form our judgments by means of *Experience*: "and if," says he, "we would explode any forgery in history, we cannot make use of a more convincing argument, than to prove that the actions ascribed

Nay, there is this additional circumstance which renders the contradiction of Experience more glaring in this case than in that of the

to any person, are directly contrary to the course of nature. The veracity of Quintus Curtius is as suspicious when he describes the supernatural courage of Alexander, by which he was hurried on singly to attack multitudes, as when he describes his supernatural force and activity, by which he was able to resist them. So readily and universally do we acknowledge a uniformity in *human motives and actions as well as in the operations of body.*"—*Eighth Essay*, p. 131, 12mo; p. 85, 8vo, 1817.

Accordingly, in the tenth essay, his use of the term "miracle," after having called it "a transgression of a law of nature," plainly shows that he meant to include *human* nature: "no testimony," says he, "is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a nature that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish." The term "prodigy" also (which he all along employs as synonymous with "miracle") is applied to testimony, in the same manner, immediately after. "In the foregoing reasoning we have supposed that the falsehood of that testimony would be a kind of *prodigy.*" Now, had he meant to confine the meaning of "miracle," and "prodigy," to a violation of the laws of matter, the epithet "*miraculous,*" applied even thus hypo-

miraculous histories which ingenious sceptics have held up to contempt: all the advocates of miracles admit that they are rare exceptions to the general course of nature; but

thetically, to *false testimony*, would be as unmeaning as the epithets "green" or "square;" the only possible sense in which we can apply to it, even in imagination, the term "miraculous," is that of "highly improbable,"—"contrary to those laws of nature which respect human conduct;" and in this sense accordingly he uses the word in the very next sentence: "When any one tells me that he saw a dead man restored to life, I immediately consider with myself whether it be more *probable* that this person should either deceive or be deceived, or that the fact which he relates should really have happened. I weigh the one *miracle* against the other."—HUME's *Essay on Miracles*, pp. 176, 177, 12mo; p. 182, 8vo, 1767; p. 115, 8vo, 1817.

See also a passage above quoted from the same essay, where he speaks of "the *miraculous* accounts of travellers;" evidently using the word in this sense.

Perhaps it was superfluous to cite authority for applying the term "miracle" to whatever is "highly improbable;" but it is important to the students of Hume, to be fully aware that *he* uses those two expressions as synonymous; since otherwise they would mistake the meaning of that passage which he justly calls "a general maxim worthy of our attention."

contend that they must needs be so, on account of the rarity of those extraordinary *occasions* which are the *reason* of their being performed: a Miracle, they say, does not happen every day, because a Revelation is not given every day. It would be foreign to the present purpose to seek for arguments against this answer; I leave it to those who are engaged in the controversy, to find a reply to it; but my present object is, to point out that this solution does not at all apply in the present case. Where is the peculiarity of the *occasion*? What sufficient *reason* is there for a series of events occurring in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which never took place before? Was Europe at that period peculiarly weak, and in a state of barbarism, that one man could achieve such conquests, and acquire such a vast empire? On the contrary, she was flourishing in the height of strength and civilization. Can the persevering attachment and blind devotedness of the French to this man, be accounted for by his being the descendant of a long line of kings,

whose race was hallowed by hereditary veneration? No; we are told he was a low-born usurper, and not even a Frenchman! Is it that he was a good and kind sovereign? He is represented not only as an imperious and merciless despot, but as most wantonly careless of the lives of his soldiers. Could the French army and people have failed to hear from the wretched survivors of his supposed Russian expedition, how they had left the corpses of above 100,000 of their comrades bleaching on the snowdrifts of that dismal country, whither his mad ambition had conducted him, and where his selfish cowardice had deserted them? Wherever we turn to seek for circumstances that may help to account for the events of this incredible story, we only meet with such as aggravate its improbability.* Had it been told of some distant

* "Events may be so extraordinary that they can hardly be established by testimony. We would not give credit to a man who would affirm that he saw a hundred dice thrown in the air, and that they all fell on the same faces."—*Edin. Review*, Sept. 1814, p. 327.

country, at a remote period, we could not have told what peculiar circumstances there might have been to render probable what seems to us most strange; and yet in *that* case every philosophical sceptic, every free-thinking speculator, would instantly have rejected such a history, as utterly unworthy of credit. What, for instance, would the great Hume, or any of the philosophers of his school, have said, if they had found in the antique records of any nation such a passage as this? “There was a certain man of Corsica, whose name was Napoleon, and he was one of the chief captains of the host of the French; and he gathered together an army, and went and fought against Egypt: but when the king of Britain heard thereof, he sent ships of war and valiant men to fight against the French in Egypt. So they warred against them, and prevailed, and strengthened the hands of the rulers of the land against the French, and drove away Napoleon from be-

Let it be observed, that the instance here given is *miraculous* in no other sense but that of being highly *improbable*.

fore the city of Acre. Then Napoleon left the captains and the army that were in Egypt, and fled, and returned back to France. So the French people took Napoleon, and made him ruler over them, and he became exceeding great, insomuch that there was none like him of all that had ruled over France before."

What, I say, would Hume have thought of this, especially if he had been told that it was at this day generally credited? Would he not have confessed that he had been mistaken in supposing there was a peculiarly blind credulity and prejudice in favour of everything that is accounted *sacred*?* for that, since even professed sceptics swallow implicitly such a story as this, it appears there must be a still blinder prejudice in favour of everything that is *not* accounted sacred?

* "If the spirit of religion join itself to the love of wonder, there is an end of common sense; and human testimony in these circumstances loses all pretensions to authority."—HUME's *Essay on Miracles*, p. 179, 12mo; p. 185, 8vo. 1767; p. 117, 8vo. 1817.

Suppose, again, we found in this history such passages as the following: "And it came to pass after these things that Napoleon strengthened himself, and gathered together another host instead of that which he had lost, and went and warred against the Prussians, and the Russians, and the Austrians, and all the rulers of the north country, which were confederate against him. And the ruler of Sweden, also, which was a Frenchman, warred against Napoleon. So they went forth, and fought against the French in the plain of Leipsic. And the French were discomfited before their enemies, and fled and came to the rivers which are behind Leipsic, and essayed to pass over, that they might escape out of the hand of their enemies; but they could not, for Napoleon had broken down the bridges; so the people of the north countries came upon them, and smote them with a very grievous slaughter."
".
"Then the ruler of Austria and all the rulers of the north countries sent messengers

unto Napoleon to speak peaceably unto him, saying, Why should there be war between us any more? Now Napoleon had put away his wife, and taken the daughter of the ruler of Austria to wife. So all the counsellors of Napoleon came and stood before him, and said, Behold now these kings are merciful kings; do even as they say unto thee; knowest thou not yet that France is destroyed? But he spake roughly unto his counsellors, and drove them out from his presence, neither would he hearken unto their voice. And when all the kings saw that, they warred against France, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and came near to Paris, which is the royal city, to take it: so the men of Paris went out, and delivered up the city to them. Then those kings spake kindly unto the men of Paris, saying, Be of good cheer, there shall no harm happen unto you. Then were the men of Paris glad, and said, Napoleon is a tyrant; he shall no more rule over us: also all the princes, the judges, the counsellors, and the captains whom Napoleon had raised

up even from the lowest of the people, sent unto Lewis the brother of King Lewis, whom they had slain, and made him king over France."

" And when Napoleon saw that the kingdom was departed from him, he said unto the rulers which came against him, Let me, I pray you, give the kingdom unto my son: but they would not hearken unto him. Then he spake yet again, saying, Let me, I pray you, go and live in the island of Elba, which is over against Italy, nigh unto the coast of France; and ye shall give me an allowance for me and my household, and the land of Elba also for a possession. So they made him ruler of Elba."

" In those days the Pope returned unto his own land. Now the French, and divers other nations of Europe, are servants of the Pope, and hold him in reverence; but he is an abomination unto the Britons, and to the

Prussians, and to the Russians, and to the Swedes. Howbeit the French had taken away all his lands, and robbed him of all that he had, and carried him away captive into France. But when the Britons, and the Prussians, and the Russians, and the Swedes, and the rest of the nations that were confederate against France, came thither, they caused the French to set the Pope at liberty, and to restore all his goods that they had taken; likewise they gave him back all his possessions; and he went home in peace, and ruled over his own city as in times past." . . .
• •

"And it came to pass when Napoleon had not yet been a full year at Elba, that he said unto his men of war that clave unto him, Go to, let us go back to France, and fight against King Lewis, and thrust him out from being king. So he departed, he and six hundred men with him that drew the sword, and warred against King Lewis. Then all the men of Belial gathered themselves together, and

said, God save Napoleon. And when Lewis saw that, he fled, and gat him into the land of Batavia: and Napoleon ruled over France.” &c., &c., &c.

Now if a free-thinking philosopher—one of those who advocate the cause of unbiassed reason, and despise pretended revelations—were to meet with such a tissue of absurdities as this in an old Jewish record, would he not reject it at once as too palpable an imposture* to deserve even any inquiry into its evidence? Is that credible then of the civilized Europeans now, which could not, if reported of the semi-barbarous Jews 3000 years ago, be established by any testimony? Will it be

* “I desire any one to lay his hand upon his heart, and after serious consideration declare whether he thinks that the falsehood of such a book, supported by such testimony, would be more extraordinary and miraculous than all the miracles it relates.”—HUME’s *Essay on Miracles*, p. 200, 12mo; p. 206, 8vo, 1767; p. 131, 8vo, 1817.

Let it be borne in mind, that Hume (as I have above remarked) continually employs the term “miracle” and “prodigy” to signify anything that is highly *improbable* and *extraordinary*.

answered, that “there is nothing *supernatural* in all this?” Why is it, then, that you object to what is *supernatural*—that you reject every account of *miracles*—if not because they are *improbable*? Surely then a story equally or still more improbable, is not to be implicitly received, merely on the ground that it is *not* miraculous: though in fact, as I have already (in note, p. 34) shown from Hume’s authority, it really *is* miraculous. The opposition to Experience has been proved to be as complete in this case, as in what are commonly called miracles; and the reasons assigned for that contrariety by the defenders of *them*, cannot be pleaded in the present instance. If then philosophers, who reject every wonderful story that is maintained by priests, are yet found ready to believe *everything else*, however improbable, they will surely lay themselves open to the accusation brought against them of being unduly prejudiced against whatever relates to religion.

There is one more circumstance which I

cannot forbear mentioning, because it so much adds to the air of fiction which pervades every part of this marvellous tale ; and that is, the *nationality* of it.*

Buonaparte prevailed over all the hostile States in turn, *except England* ; in the zenith of his power, his fleets were swept from the sea, *by England* ; his troops always defeat an equal, and frequently even a superior number of those of any other nation, *except the English* ; and with them it is just the reverse ; twice, and twice only, he is personally engaged against an *English commander*, and both times he is totally defeated ; at Acre, and at Waterloo ; and to crown all, *England* finally crushes this tremendous power, which had so long kept the continent in subjection or in alarm ; and to the *English* he surrenders himself prisoner ! Thoroughly national, to be

* The wise lend a very academic faith to every report which favours the passion of the reporter, whether it magnifies his *country*, his family, or himself."—HUME'S *Essay on Miracles*, p. 144, 12mo ; p. 200, 8vo, 1767 ; p. 126, 8vo, 1817.

sure! It *may* be all very true; but I would only ask, *if* a story *had* been fabricated for the express purpose of amusing the English nation, could it have been contrived more ingeniously? It would do admirably for an epic poem; and indeed bears a considerable resemblance to the *Iliad* and the *Æneid*; in which Achilles and the Greeks, Æneas and Trojans, (the ancestors of the Romans,) are so studiously held up to admiration. Buonaparte's exploits seem magnified in order to enhance the glory of his conquerors; just as Hector is allowed to triumph during the absence of Achilles, merely to give additional splendour to his overthrow by the arm of that invincible hero. Would not this circumstance alone render a history rather *suspicious* in the eyes of an acute critic, even if it were not filled with such gross improbabilities; and induce him to suspend his judgment, till very satisfactory evidence (far stronger than can be found in this case) should be produced?

Is it then too much to demand of the wary academic* a suspension of judgment as to the “life and adventures of Napoleon Buonaparte?” I do not pretend to *decide* positively that there is not, nor ever was, any such person; but merely to propose it as a *doubtful* point, and one the more deserving of careful investigation, from the very circumstance of its having hitherto been admitted without inquiry. Far less would I undertake to decide what is, or has been, the real state of affairs. He who points out the improbability of the current story, is not bound to suggest an hypothesis of his own;† though it may safely be affirmed, that it would be hard to invent any one more improbable than the received

* “Nothing can be more contrary than such a philosophy” (the academic or sceptical) “to the supine indolence of the mind, its rash arrogance, its lofty pretensions, and its superstitious credulity.”—*Fifth Essay*, p. 68, 12mo; p. 41, 8vo, 1817.

† See HUME’s *Essay on Miracles*, pp. 189, 191, 195, 12mo; pp. 193, 197, 201, 202, 8vo, 1767; pp. 124, 125, 126, 8vo, 1817.

one. One may surely be allowed to hesitate in admitting the stories which the ancient poets tell, of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions being caused by imprisoned giants, without being called upon satisfactorily to account for those phenomena.

Amidst the defect of valid evidence under which, as I have already shown, we labour in the present instance, it is hardly possible to offer more than here and there a probable conjecture; or to pronounce how much may be true, and how much fictitious, in the accounts presented to us. For it is to be observed that this case is much *more* open to sceptical doubts even than some miraculous histories; for some of *them* are of such a nature that you cannot consistently admit a part and reject the rest; but are bound, if you are satisfied as to the reality of any one miracle, to embrace the whole system; so that it is necessary for the sceptic to impeach the evidence of *all* of them, separately, and collectively: whereas *here* each single point requires to be *established* separately, since no

one of them authenticates the rest. Supposing there be a state-prisoner at St. Helena, (which, by the way, it is acknowledged, many of the French disbelieve,) how do we know who he is, or why he is confined there? There have been state-prisoners before now, who were never guilty of subjugating half Europe, and whose offences have been very imperfectly ascertained. Admitting that there have been bloody wars going on for several years past, which is highly probable, it does not follow that the events of those wars were such as we have been told;—that Buonaparte was the author and conductor of them;—or that such a person ever existed. What disturbances may have taken place in the government of the French people, we, and even nineteen-twentieths of *them*, have no means of learning but from imperfect hearsay evidence; and how much credit they themselves attach to that evidence, is very doubtful. This at least is certain; that a M. Berryer, a French advocate, has published memoirs, professing to record many of the events of the

recent history of France, in which, among other things, he states his conviction that Buonaparte's escape from Elba was DESIGNED AND CONTRIVED BY THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.* And we are assured by many travellers that this was, and is, commonly reported in France.

Now that the French should believe the whole story about Buonaparte according to this version of it, does seem utterly incredible. Let any one suppose them seriously believing that we maintained for many years a desperate struggle against this formidable emperor of theirs, in the course of which we expended such an enormous amount of blood and treasure as is reported;—that we finally, after encountering enormous risks, succeeded in subduing him, and secured him in a place of safe exile;—and that, in less than a year after, we turned him out again, like a bag-fox,—or rather, a bag-lion,—for the sake of amusing ourselves by again staking all that was dear

* See *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1842, p. 162.

to us on the event of a doubtful and bloody battle, in which defeat must be ruinous, and victory, if obtained at all, must cost us many thousands of our best soldiers. Let any one force himself for a moment to conceive the French seriously believing such a mass of absurdity ; and the inference must be that such a people must be prepared to believe anything. They might fancy their own country to abound not only with Napoleons, but with dragons and centaurs, and “men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders,” or anything else that any lunatic ever dreamt of. If we could suppose the French capable of such monstrous credulity as the above supposition would imply, it is plain their testimony must be altogether worthless.

But on the other hand, suppose them to be aware that the British Government have been all along imposing on us, and it is quite natural that they should deride our credulity, and try whether there is anything too extravagant for us to swallow. And indeed, if Buonaparte was in fact altogether a phantom

conjured up by the British Ministers, then it is *true* that his escape from Elba really *was*, as well as *the rest of his exploits*, a contrivance of theirs.

But whatever may be believed by the French relative to the recent occurrences, in their own country, and whatever may be the real character of these occurrences, of this at least we are well assured, that there have been numerous bloody wars with France under the dominion of the *Bourbons*: and we are now told that France is governed by a Bourbon king, of the name of Lewis, who professes to be in the twenty-third year of his reign. Let every one conjecture for himself. I am far from pretending to decide who may have been the governor or governors of the French nation, and the leaders of their armies, for several years past. Certain it is, that when men are indulging their inclination for the marvellous, they always show a strong propensity to accumulate upon *one* individual (real or imaginary) the exploits of many; be-

sides multiplying and exaggerating these exploits a thousandfold. Thus, the expounders of the ancient mythology tell us there were several persons of the name of Hercules, (either originally bearing that appellation, or having it applied to them as an honour,) whose collective feats, after being dressed up in a sufficiently marvellous garb, were attributed to a single hero. Is it not just possible, that during the rage for words of Greek derivation, the title of "Napoleon," (*Ναπολέων*), which signifies "Lion of the forest," may have been conferred by the popular voice on more than one favourite general, distinguished for irresistible valour? Is it not also possible that "BUONA PARTE" may have been originally a sort of cant term applied to the "good (i. e., the bravest, or most patriotic) part" of the French army, collectively; and have been afterwards mistaken for the proper name of an individual?* I do not profess to sup-

* It is well known with how much learning and ingenuity the Rationalists of the German school have laboured to throw discredit on the literal interpretation of the nar-

port this conjecture; but it is certain that such mistakes may and do occur. Some critics have supposed that the Athenians imagined ANASTASIS (“Resurrection”) to be a new goddess, in whose cause Paul was preaching. Would it have been thought anything incredible if we had been told that the ancient Persians, who had no idea of any but a monarchical government, had supposed Aristocratia to be a queen of Sparta? But we need not confine ourselves to hypothetical

ratives, both of the Old and New Testaments; representing them as MYTHS, i. e., fables allegorically describing some physical or moral phenomena—philosophical principles—systems, &c.—under the figure of actions performed by certain ideal personages; these allegories having been, afterwards, through the mistake of the vulgar, believed as history. Thus, the real historical existence of such a person as the supposed founder of the Christian religion, and the acts attributed to him, are denied in the literal sense, and the whole of the evangelical history is explained on the “mythical” theory.

Now it is a remarkable circumstance in reference to the point at present before us, that an eminent authoress of this century has distinctly declared that Napoleon Buonaparte was NOT A MAN, but a SYSTEM.

cases; it is positively stated that the Hindoos at this day believe “the honourable East India Company” to be a venerable old lady of high dignity, residing in this country. The Germans, again, of the present day, derive their name from a similar mistake: the first tribe of them who invaded Gaul* assumed the honourable title of “*Ger-man,*” which signifies “warriors;” (the words, “war” and “guerre,” as well as “man,” which remains in our language unaltered, are evidently derived from the Teutonic,) and the Gauls applied this as a *name* to the whole *race*.

However, I merely throw out these conjectures without by any means contending that more plausible ones might not be suggested. But whatever supposition we adopt, or whether we adopt any, the objections to

* Germaniæ vocabulum recens et nuper additum; quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen in nomen gentis evaluisse paullatim, ut omnes, primum a victore ob metum, mox a seipsis invento nomine, Germani vocarentur.—*Tacitus, de Mor. Germ.*

the commonly received accounts will remain in their full force, and imperiously demand the attention of the candid sceptic.

I call upon those, therefore, who profess themselves advocates of free inquiry—who disdain to be carried along with the stream of popular opinion, and who will listen to no testimony that runs counter to experience,—to follow up their own principles fairly and consistently. Let the same mode of argument be adopted in all cases alike; and then it can no longer be attributed to hostile prejudice, but to enlarged and philosophical views. If they have already rejected some histories, on the ground of their being strange and marvellous,—of their relating facts, unprecedented, and at variance with the established course of nature,—let them not give credit to another history which lies open to the very same objections,—the extraordinary and romantic tale we have been just considering. If they have discredited the testimony of witnesses, who are *said* at least to have been disinterested, and to have braved perse-

cutions and death in support of their assertions,—can these philosophers consistently listen to and believe the testimony of those who avow-edly *get money* by the tales they publish, and who do not even pretend that they incur any serious risk in case of being detected in a falsehood? If, in other cases, they have refused to listen to an account which has passed through many intermediate hands before it reaches them, and which is defended by those who have an interest in maintaining it; let them consider through how many, and what very suspicious hands, *this* story has arrived to them, without the possibility, as I have shown, of tracing it back to any decided-ly authentic source, after all;—to any better authority, according to their own showing, than that of an *unnamed* and unknown foreign correspondent;—and likewise how strong an interest, in every way, those who have hitherto imposed on them, have, in keeping up the imposture. Let them, in short, show them-selves as ready to detect the cheats and despise the fables of politicians, as of priests.

But if they are still wedded to the popular belief in this point, let them be consistent enough to admit the same evidence in *other* cases, which they yield to in *this*. If, after all that has been said, they cannot bring themselves to doubt of the existence of Napoleon Buonaparte, they must at least acknowledge that they do not apply to that question the same plan of reasoning which they have made use of in others; and they are consequently bound in reason and in honesty to renounce it altogether.

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

It may seem arrogant for an obscure and nameless individual to claim the glory of having put to death the most formidable of all recorded heroes. But a shadowy champion may be overthrown by a shadowy antagonist. Many a terrific spectre has been laid by the beams of a halfpenny candle. And if I have succeeded in making out, in the foregoing pages, a probable case of suspicion, it must, I think, be admitted, that there is some ground for my present boast, of having *killed* Napoleon Buonaparte.

Let but the circumstances of the case be considered. This mighty Emperor, who had

been so long the bugbear of the civilized world, after having obtained successes and undergone reverses, such as never befell any (other at least) *real* potentate, was at length sentenced to confinement in the remote island of St. Helena: a measure which many persons wondered at, and many objected to, on various grounds; not unreasonably supposing the illustrious exile to be a real person: but on the supposition of his being only a man of straw, the situation was exceedingly favourable for keeping him out of the way of impertinent curiosity, when not wanted, and for making him the foundation of any new plots that there might be occasion to conjure up.

About this juncture it was that the public attention was first invited by these pages, to the question as to the real existence of Napoleon Buonaparte. They excited, it may be fairly supposed, along with much surprise and much censure, some degree of doubt, and probably, of consequent inquiry. No fresh evidence, as far as I can learn, of the truth of the disputed points, was brought forward to

dispel these doubts. We heard, however, of the most jealous precautions being used to prevent any intercourse between the formidable prisoner, and any stranger, who, from motives of curiosity, might wish to visit him. The “man in the iron mask” could hardly have been more rigorously secluded: and we also heard various contradictory reports of conversations between him and the few who were allowed access to him; the falsehood and inconsistency of most of these reports being proved in contemporary publications.

At length, just about the time when the public scepticism respecting this extraordinary personage might be supposed to have risen to an alarming height, it was announced to us that he was dead! A stop was thus put, most opportunely, to all troublesome inquiries. I do not undertake to deny that such a person did live and die. That he was, and that he did, *everything* that is reported, we cannot believe, unless we consent to admit contradictory statements; but many of the events recorded, however marvellous, are

certainly not, when taken separately, physically impossible. But I would only entreat the candid reader to reflect what might naturally be expected, on the supposition of the surmises contained in the present work being well founded. Supposing the whole of the tale I have been considering to have been a fabrication, what would be the natural result of such an attempt to excite inquiry into its truth? Evidently the shortest and most effectual mode of eluding detection, would be to *kill* the phantom, and so get rid of him at once. A ready and decisive answer would thus be provided to any one in whom the foregoing arguments might have excited suspicions: “Sir, there can be no doubt that such a person existed, and performed what is related of him; and if you will just take a voyage to St. Helena, you may see with your own eyes,—not him indeed, for he is no longer living,—but his *tomb*: and what evidence would you have that is more decisive?”

So much for his *Death*: as for his *Life*,—it is just published by an eminent writer:

besides which, the shops will supply us with abundance of busts and prints of this great man ; all striking likenesses—of one another. The most incredulous must be satisfied with this ! “Stat magni NOMINIS umbra !”

KONX OMPAX.



POSTSCRIPT

TO THE SEVENTH EDITION.

SINCE the publication of the Sixth Edition of this work, the French nation, and the world at large, have obtained an additional evidence, to which I hope they will attach as much weight as it deserves, of the reality of the wonderful history I have been treating of. The Great Nation, among the many indications lately given of an heroic zeal like what Homer attributes to his Argive warriors, *τίσασθαι ΕΛΕΝΗΣ δρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε*, have formed and executed the design of bringing home for honourable interment the remains of their illustrious Chief.

How many persons have actually inspect-

ed these relics, I have not ascertained; but that a real coffin, containing real bones, was brought from St. Helena to France, I see no reason to disbelieve.

Whether future visitors to St. Helena will be shown merely the identical *place* in which Buonaparte was (*said* to have been) interred, or whether another set of real bones will be exhibited in that island, we have yet to learn.

This latter supposition is not very improbable. It was something of a credit to the island, an attraction to strangers, and a source of profit to some of the inhabitants, to possess so remarkable a relic; and this glory and advantage they must naturally wish to retain. If so, there seems no reason why they should not have a Buonaparte of their own; for there is, I believe, no doubt that there are, or were, several Museums in England, which, among other curiosities, boasted, each, of a genuine skull of Oliver Cromwell.

Perhaps, therefore, we shall hear of several well-authenticated skulls of Buonaparte also,

in the collections of different virtuosos, all of whom (especially those in whose own crania the "organ of wonder" is the most largely developed) will doubtless derive equal satisfaction from the relics they respectively possess.



POSTSCRIPT

TO THE NINTH EDITION.

THE Public has been of late much interested and not a little bewildered, by the accounts of many strange events, said to have recently taken place in France and other parts of the Continent. Are these accounts of such a character as to allay, or to strengthen and increase, such doubts as have been suggested in the foregoing pages?

We are told that there is now a Napoleon Buonaparte at the head of the government of France. It is not, indeed, asserted that he is the very original Napoleon Buonaparte himself. The death of that personage, and the transportation of his genuine bones to France,

had been too widely proclaimed to allow of his reappearance in his own proper person. But “uno avulso, non deficit alter.” Like the Thibetian worshippers of the Delai Lama, (who never dies; only, his soul transmigrates into a fresh body), the French are so resolved, we are told, to be under a Buonaparte—whether that be (see note to p. 67) a man or “a system”—that they have found, it seems, a kind of new incarnation of this their grand Lama, in a person said to be the nephew of the original one.

And when, on hearing that this personage now fills the high office of President of the French Republic, we inquire (very naturally) *how he came there*, we are informed that, several years ago, he invaded France in an English vessel, (the *English*—as was observed in p. 64—having always been suspected of keeping Buonaparte ready, like the winds in a Lapland witch’s bag, to be let out on occasion,) at the head of a force, not, of six hundred men, like his supposed uncle in his expedition from Elba, but of fifty-five, (!) with

which he landed at Boulogne, proclaimed himself emperor, and was joined by no less than *one* man! He was accordingly, we are told, arrested, brought to trial, and sentenced to imprisonment; but having, some years after, escaped from prison, and taken refuge in England, (*England* again!) he thence returned to France: AND so the French nation placed him at the head of the Government!

All this will doubtless be received as a very probable tale by those who have given full credit to all the stories I have alluded to in the foregoing pages.



POSTSCRIPT

TO THE ELEVENTH EDITION.

WHEN any dramatic piece *takes*—as the phrase is—with the public, it will usually be represented again and again with still-continued applause; and sometimes imitations of it will be produced; so that the same drama in substance will, with occasional slight variations in the plot, and changes of names, long keep possession of the stage.

Something like this has taken place with respect to that curious tragi-comedy—the scene of it laid in France—which has engrossed the attention of the British public for about sixty years; during which it has been “exhibited to crowded houses”—viz., coffee-

houses, reading-rooms, &c., with unabated interest.

The outline of this drama, or series of dramas, may be thus sketched :

Dramatis Personæ.

A. A King or other Sovereign.

B. His Queen.

C. The Heir apparent.

D. E. F. His Ministers.

G. H. I. J. K. Demagogues.

L. A popular leader of superior ingenuity, who becomes ultimately supreme ruler, under the title of Dictator, Consul, Emperor, King, President, or some other.

Soldiers, Senators, Executioners, and other functionaries, Citizens, Fishwomen, &c.

Scene, Paris.

(1.) The first Act of one of these dramas represents a monarchy, somewhat troubled by murmurs of disaffection, suspicions of conspiracy, &c.

(2.) Second Act, a rebellion; in which ultimately the government is overthrown.

(3.) Act the third, a provisional government established, on principles of liberty equality, fraternity, &c.

(4.) Act the fourth, struggles of various parties for power, carried on with sundry intrigues, and sanguinary conflicts.

(5.) Act the fifth, the re-establishment of some form of absolute monarchy.

And from this point we start afresh, and begin the same business over again, with sundry fresh interludes.

All this is highly amusing to the English public to *hear* and *read* of; but I doubt whether our countrymen would like to be actual *performers* in such a drama.

Whether the French really are so, or whether they are mystifying us in the accounts they send over, I will not presume to decide. But if the former supposition be the true one,—if they have been so long really acting over and over again in their own persons such a drama, it must be allowed that

they deserve to be characterized as they have been in the description given of certain European nations: “an Englishman,” it has been said, “is never happy but when he is miserable; a Scotchman is never at home but when he is abroad; an Irishman is never at peace but when he is fighting; a Spaniard is never at liberty but when he is enslaved; and a Frenchman is never settled but when he is engaged in a revolution.”

Besides the many strange and improbable circumstances in the history of Buonaparte that have been noticed in the foregoing pages, there are many others that have been omitted, two of which it may be worth while to advert to.

One of the most incredible is the received account of the persons known as the “Detenus.” It is well known that a great number of English gentlemen passed many years, in the early part of the present century, abroad;—by their own account, in France. Their statement was, that while travelling in

that country for their amusement as peaceable tourists, they were, on the sudden breaking out of a war, seized by this terrible Buonaparte, and kept prisoners for about twelve years, contrary to all the usages of civilized nations,—to all principles of justice, of humanity, of enlightened policy ; many of them thus wasting in captivity the most important portion of their lives, and having all their prospects blighted.

Now whether these persons were in reality exiles by choice, for the sake of keeping out of the way of creditors, or of enjoying the society of those they preferred to their own domestic circle, I do not venture to conjecture. But let the reader consider whether *any* conjecture can be *more* improbable than the statement actually made.

It is, indeed, credible that ambition may prompt an unscrupulous man to make the most enormous sacrifices of human life, and to perpetrate the most atrocious crimes, for the advancement of his views of conquest. But that this *great* man—as he is usually

reckoned even by adversaries—this hero according to some—this illustrious warrior, and mighty sovereign—should have stooped to be guilty of an act of mean and petty malice worthy of a spiteful old woman,—a piece of paltry cruelty which could not at all conduce to his success in the war, or produce any effect except to degrade his country, and exasperate ours ;—this, surely, is quite incredible. “Pizarro,” says Elvira in Kotzebue’s play, “if not always justly, at least act always greatly.”

But a still more wonderful circumstance connected with this transaction remains behind. A large portion of the English nation, and among these the whole of the Whig party, are said to have expressed the most vehement indignation, mingled with compassion, at the banishment from Europe, and confinement in St. Helena, of this great man. No considerations of regard for the peace and security of our own country, no dread of the power of so able and indefatigable a warrior, and so inveterate an enemy, should have in-

duced us, they thought, to subject this formidable personage to a confinement, which was far less severe than that to which he was said to have subjected such numbers of our countrymen, the harmless *non-belligerent* travellers, whom (according to the story) he kidnapped in France, with no object but to gratify the basest and most unmanly spite.

But that there is no truth in that story, and that it was not believed by those who manifested so much sympathy and indignation on this great man's account, is sufficiently proved by that very sympathy and indignation.

There are again other striking improbabilities connected with the Polish nation in the history before us. Buonaparte is represented as having always expressed the strongest sympathy with that ill-used people; and they, as being devotedly attached to him, and fighting with the utmost fidelity and bravery in his armies, in which some of them attained high commands. Now he had it manifestly in his power at one period (accord-

ing to the received accounts), with a stroke of his pen, to re-establish Poland as an independent state. For, in his last Russian war, he had complete occupation of the country (of which the population was perfectly friendly); the Russian portion of it was his by right of conquest; and Austria and Prussia, then his allies, and almost his subjects, would gladly have resigned their portions in exchange for some of the provinces they had ceded to France, and which were, to him, of little value, but, to them, important. And, indeed, Prussia was (as we are told) so thoroughly humbled and weakened that he might easily have enforced the cession of Prussian-Poland, even without any compensation. And the re-establishment of the Polish kingdom would have been as evidently politic as it was reasonable. The independence of a faithful and devoted ally, at enmity with the surrounding nations—the very nations that were the most likely to combine (as they often had done) against him,—this would have given him, at no cost, a kind of strong garri-

son to maintain his power, and keep his enemies in check.

Yet this most obvious step, the history tells us, he did not take ; but made flattering speeches to the Poles, used their services, and did nothing for them !

This is, alone, sufficiently improbable. But we are required moreover to believe that the Poles,—instead of *execrating* this man, who had done them the unpardonable wrong of wantonly disappointing the expectations he had, for his own purposes, excited, thus adding treachery to ingratitude—instead of this, continued to the last as much devoted to him as ever, and even now idolize his memory ! We are to believe, in short, that this Buonaparte, not only in his own conduct and adventures violated all the established rules of probability, but also caused all other persons, as many as came in contact with him, to act as no mortals ever did act before : may we not add, as no mortals ever did act at all ?

Many other improbabilities might be added to the list, and will be found in the com-

plete edition of that history, from which some extracts have been given in the foregoing pages, and which has been published (under the title of “*Historic Certainties*”) by Aristarchus Newlight, with a learned commentary (not, indeed, adopting the views contained in the foregoing pages, but) quite equal in ingenuity to a late work on the “*Hebrew Monarchy*.”

HISTORIC CERTAINTIES

RESPECTING THE

EARLY HISTORY OF AMERICA,

DEVELOPED IN A CRITICAL EXAMINATION
OF THE BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES
OF THE LAND OF ECNARF.

"Y

REV. ARISTARCHUS NEWLIGHT,

PHIL. DR. OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GIESSEN; CORRESPONDING MEMBER
OF THE THEOPHILANTHROPIC AND PANTISOCRATICAL SOCIETIES
OF LEIPSIC; LATE PROFESSOR OF ALL RELIGIONS IN
SEVERAL DISTINGUISHED ACADEMIES
AT HOME AND ABROAD,
ETC., ETC., ETC.

"Here, then, we have the rule: in cases where the details of an adventure are obnoxious to criticism, and where its exterior mechanism is exaggerated—where the basis itself is not conformable to reason, or where it is obviously made to agree with pre-existing ideas—in these cases, I say, not only the circumstances described with such precision, but the entire adventure, should be considered as *non-historic*. On the other hand, in those cases in which only the form of the narrative is impressed with the mythic character, whilst its basis is left untouched, it is possible to suppose an *historic nucleus*."—STRAUSS, *Leben Jesu*.

Tt

THE LEARNED AND ENLIGHTENED PUBLIC
OF EUROPE AND AMERICA,

SPECIALLY

TO THOSE EMINENT CRITICS, AT HOME AND ABROAD,
WHOSE LABOURS UPON JEWISH HISTORY I HAVE HUMBLY MADE

MY MODEL:

TO

DR. W. M. LEBERECHT DE WETTE,

DR. D. F. STRAUSS,

MR. F. W. NEWMAN,

THESE PAGES ARE INSCRIBED,

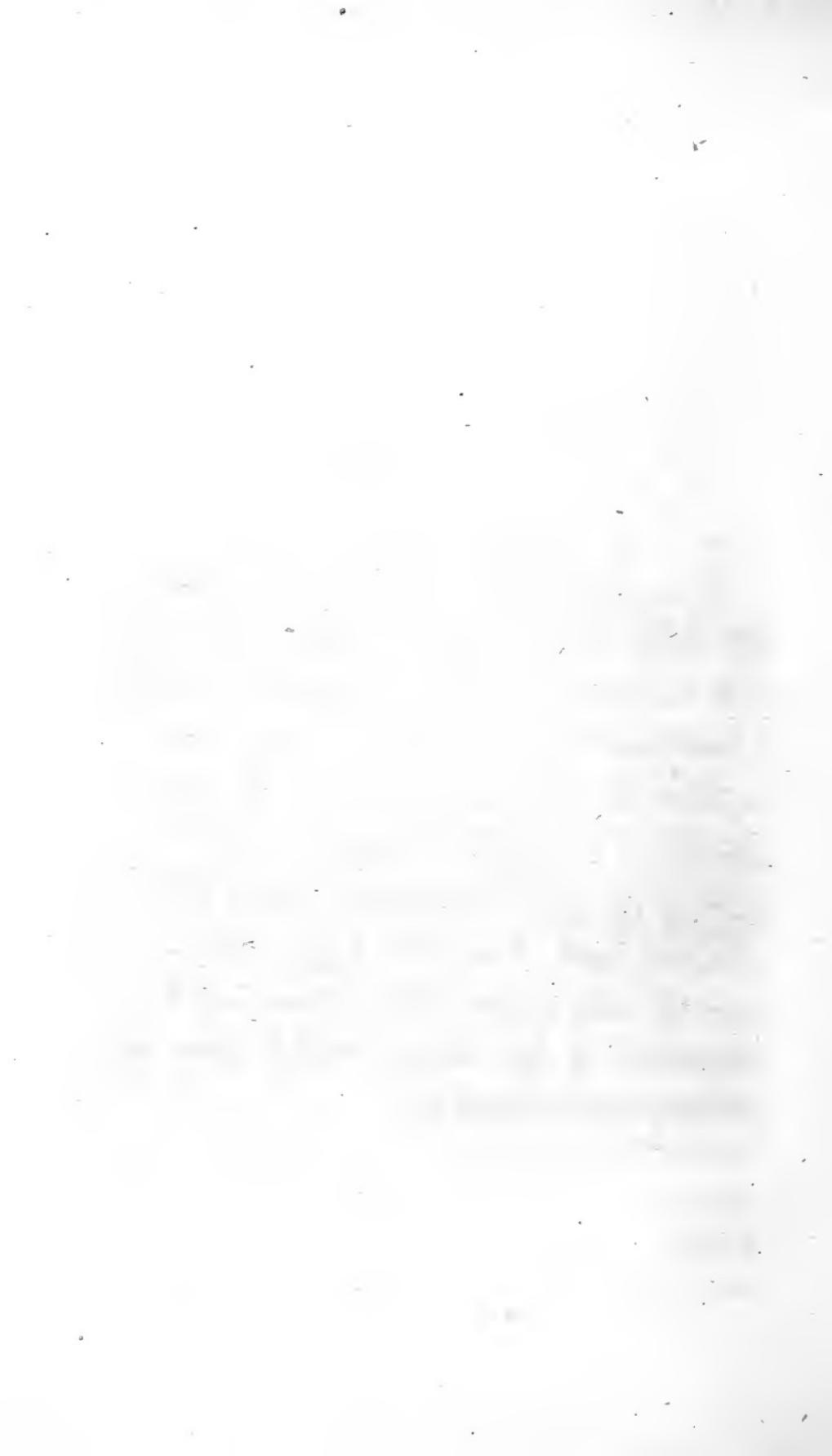
BY THEIR FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE COMMENTATOR.

SICILY, April 1.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T

THESE "Chronicles" were first seen by me in November, 1850. The greater part of the MS. from which they are taken, was, however, in possession of the person from whom I received them so early as 1814; the remainder in the ensuing year. Should any number of competent judges feel doubts concerning the great antiquity of these Chronicles, and their American origin, I am sure that all such doubts will be removed by an inspection of the original, which may *then* be reasonably demanded.



HISTORIC CERTAINTIES.

THE BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE LAND OF ECNARF.

CHAP. I.

In the days of EGROEG king of NIATIRB did king SIVOL reign over ECNARF, even as his fathers had reigned before him. The same was a just man and merciful. And the people, even the ECNARFITES, came and stood before SIVOL, and said, Behold thy fathers made our yoke very grievous; now therefore make thou the heavy yoke of thy fathers which they put upon us, lighter; and give us statutes and ordinances that be righteous, like unto those of NIATIRB; and we will serve thee;

and the king did as they required. Then the ECNARFITES laid hands on king SIVOL, and slew him and all his house, and all his great men, as many as they could find. But some fled in ships, and gat them away to NIATIRE, and dwelt in NIATIRE.

And the ECNARFITES said, Let us now have no king neither ruler over us, but let us do every one as seemeth right in his own eyes; then shall we be free, and we will set free the other nations also.

Then the king of NIATIRE, and divers other kings, even the chief among all the rulers of EPORUE, made war with one accord against the ECNARFITES, because they had slain the king; for they said, Lest our people also slay us.

In those days the ECNARFITES were in a great strait: for they had chosen councils of elders, and set judges over them; and some of the people followed one judge and some another; and they fought one against another many days. So the land was defiled with blood; for the ECNARFITES slew one

another with a great slaughter. Moreover there was a sore dearth in the land, and the people were greatly impoverished. And the princes of EPORUE also came and fought against ECNARF. So the ECNARFITES went out and fought against them, and smote them, and prevailed against them exceedingly on every side. So they enlarged their boundaries greatly, over AILATI to the south, and until thou come to the river SUNEHR towards the sun-rising: and they smote the NAMREGS also that dwelt beyond SUNEHR, and subdued AIVATAB and AITEOLEH, and divers other countries of EPORUE. So the ECNARFITES became a great people.

And it came to pass that they oppressed the nations round about them very grievously, and caused them to pay tribute of corn, and cattle, and silver and gold. So those nations made a league together, and rose up against the ECNARFITES many times: but they were utterly discomfited, until they were brought very low.

Nevertheless, the ECNARFITES prevailed not

against the NIATIRBITES, because they dwelt in an island, and the king of NIATIRB also had exceeding many ships of war. Howbeit, when they fought on land, the ECNARFITES prevailed, but when they fought by sea, the NIATIRBITES prevailed.

Now there was a certain man of AKISROC whose name was NOEL-OPAN: he was a mighty man of valour, and he was one of the chief captains of the host of the people of ECNARF. And he gathered together a great host, and went and fought against SUTPYGE, and overcame the princes of the land, whom the ruler of YEKRUT had set over it. And when the king of NIATIRB heard thereof, he sent ships of war and valiant men to fight against the ECNARFITES in SUTPYGE. And NOEL-OPAN drew nigh unto the city of ERCA and fought against it. But there were certain of the NIATIRBITES therein, which strengthened the hands of the people of the city, and drove back NOEL-OPAN, and slew many of his people: so he fled from before that place.

And after that, the great host of the NIAT-

IRBITES came to SUTPYGE, and warred against the ECNARFITES that were there; and overthrew them, and smote them with a great slaughter, and took them captive, until they had left them none remaining. Thus were the ECNARFITES destroyed out of SUTPYGE. Howbeit NOEL-OPAN had left the captains and the army that were in SUTPYGE, and fled, and returned back to ECNARF. Then the ECNARFITES took NOEL-OPAN, and made him ruler over them. So NOEL-OPAN became exceeding great, inasmuch that there was none like him, of all that had ruled over ECNARF before him.

CHAP. II.

Now it came to pass that when NOEL-OPAN was made ruler of ECNARF, he sent a letter unto the king of NIATIRB, saying, Let us now make peace. But the king said, Thou art a rebel and a murderer; I will have no peace

with thee. Howbeit after a time they made peace together.

But when the king of NIATIRB saw that NOEL-OPAN waxed exceeding strong, he stirred up the other princes of EPORUE, and they fought against ECNARF both by sea and land. Then was NOEL-OPAN wroth, and he gathered together a very great host, and built ships, and said, Surely I will bring an army against thee across the sea, and will smite thee and thy people with the edge of the sword, and take their goods for a prey. Nevertheless he came not; for the ships of NIATIRB kept watch round all the coasts of ECNARF, that none might come in or go out. And the NIATIRBITE ships prevailed against the ECNARFITE ships, and overthrew them utterly. But NOEL-OPAN smote all the country of his enemies that was on that side of the sea, and smote them with the edge of the sword; his eye did not pity them. And he took their fenced cities, and made his chief captains, and those of his own house, rulers in the countries which he subdued; and he made their yoke very grievous.

Now there was peace between NOEL-OPAN, ruler of ECNARF, and ZEDNANREF, king of NIAPS. And NOEL-OPAN said unto ZEDNANREF, Come into my country to me, and I will show thee kindness. So when he came, NOEL-OPAN took him and put him in ward, and kept him in bonds many days; and sent his own brother PHESOI to be king over NIAPS.

Then the NIAPSITES cried unto the king of NIATIRB, and he sent an army, and fought against PHESOI, even until he had thrust him out from being king. And NOEL-OPAN sent back ZEDNANREF, and he returned and ruled over NIAPS.

Now there were certain of the NIAPSITES which had taken part with PHESOI and with the ECNARFITES, and had fought against ZEDNANREF. And when ZEDNANREF was restored unto his kingdom, he took these men and promoted them to be judges and captains and councillors in the kingdom of NIAPS: but the men that had fought for him, and brought him back unto his own land, these did he afflict very grievously, and slew divers of

them, and others he thrust into prison, and spoiled them of their goods, and made bondsmen of them. Thus did ZEDNANREF unto his people.

Now the NIATIRBITES were a very wealthy people, and had much merchandise ; for they were cunning workmen in wool, and in iron, and in brass ; and they had many ships also, which brought home of the good things of the East and of the West, even very precious merchandise. And the ECNARFITES and the rest of the servants of NOEL-OPAN traded with them, because it was for their profit ; so they bought raiment, and works of iron and of brass, and spices, and goodly fruits of the East and of the West, of the merchants of NIATIRE. Then NOEL-OPAN commanded his officers, and they sought out all the goods which the servants of NOEL-OPAN had bought, and burned them with fire, and destroyed them utterly. Thus did NOEL-OPAN continually. Moreover he sent also unto the rulers of AI-NAMREG and the other rulers of EPORUE, and said unto them, As ye have seen me do,

even so do ye; and they obeyed his voice, and sent and destroyed all the goods which were brought into their land, even very much merchandise. Only REDNAXELA ruler of AISSUR would not hearken unto NOEL-OPAN.

Then NOEL-OPAN ruler of ECNARF, and SICNARF ruler of SATURIA, and EGUL-SUMLI ruler of ASSURPI, and all the princes of AINAMREG, gathered themselves together, they and all their people, and went and fought against AISSUR. Now the AISSURITES were mighty men of valour; nevertheless they could not stand against NOEL-OPAN, because he had a very great host, even as the sands that are upon the sea-shore for multitude; he had exceeding many horses also, and instruments of war; and his captains were mighty men of valour. So he went forward and smote the western parts of the land of AISSUR with the edge of the sword, and burned their houses with fire, and defiled their temples; and he laid waste all the country of AISSUR until he came even unto Vocsom, which is the chief of all their cities. Then the AISSURITES

set fire to Voosom and burned it. Then NOEL-OPAN sent messengers unto REDNAXELA, saying, Let us now make peace together. But all the great men of AISSUR said unto REDNAXELA, Hearken not unto NOEL-OPAN, neither make thou any covenant with him, so long as one man of all his host remaineth in our land. Is he not come up to make all thy people servants unto the ECNARFITES? Else, if thou do in any wise hearken unto his words, we will surely slay thee, even as we slew the Ruler that was before thee. So REDNAXELA answered nothing unto the messengers, but sent forth his men of war to fight against NOEL-OPAN. Then NOEL-OPAN departed, he and all his people; for they said, Lest the host perish with the cold and with the famine.

Then REDNAXELA ruler of AISSUR, he and all his people, went and pursued the ECNARFITES, and the SATURIANS, and the AISSURPITES, and the rest of the host that was with NOEL-OPAN, and smote them with an exceeding great slaughter; and chased them out of the land.

So the host was utterly discomfited ; for they were more that died by the snow and by the famine than those which the men of AISSUR slew with the edge of the sword. And NOEL-OPAN fled for his life. Then VOTALP, who was one of the captains of the host of REDNAXELA, made proclamation, saying, Whosoever shall slay NOEL-OPAN, or shall take him alive, he shall receive an hundred thousand pieces of silver, and I will give him my daughter to wife. Nevertheless NOEL-OPAN escaped, and returned and dwelt at SIRAP.

CHAP. III.

AND it came to pass after these things that NOEL-OPAN strengthened himself, and gathered together another host, instead of that which he had lost, and went and warred against the AISSURPITES, and the AISSURITES, and the SATURIANS, and all the rulers of the north country which were confederate against him.

And the ruler of NEDEWS also, which was an ECNARFITE, warred against NOEL-OPAN. So they went forth and fought against the ECNARFITES in the plain of GISPIEL. And the ECNARFITES were discomfited before their enemies, and fled, and came to the rivers which are behind GISPIEL, and essayed to pass over, that they might escape out of the hand of their enemies; but they could not; for NOEL-OPAN had destroyed the bridges. So the people of the north country came upon them, and smote them with a very grievous slaughter.

But NOEL-OPAN and those that were with him came unto the bridge that was left (for he spared one of the bridges and destroyed it not), and they passed over, and escaped, and fled towards their own land. And their enemies pursued after them. Then the king of AI-RAVAB, whom NOEL-OPAN had made king of AI-RAVAB, came out to stop the way against the ECNARFITES, to the intent they might not escape into their own land. So there was a very sore battle that day; and much people

of the ECNARFITES were slain ; howbeit, NOEL-OPAN and they that were with him broke through the host of the AI-RAVABITES, and came unto their own land.

Then the ruler of SATURIA and all the rulers of the north country sent messengers to NOEL-OPAN to speak peaceably unto him, saying, Why should there be war between us any more ? Now NOEL-OPAN had put away his wife, and taken the daughter of the ruler of SATURIA to wife. So all the councillors of NOEL-OPAN, even all his wise men, came and said unto NOEL-OPAN, Behold now, these kings are merciful kings : do even as they say unto thee ; knowest thou not yet that ECNARF is destroyed ? But he spake roughly unto his councillors, and drove them out from his presence, neither would he hearken unto their voice. And when all the kings saw that, they warred against ECNARF, and smote it with the edge of the sword : as the ECNARFITES had done to AISSUR, even so did the AISSURITES to ECNARF : only their cities did they not burn, neither did they defile their temples.

And they came near unto SIRAP, which is the royal city, to take it. And they fought against it, and prevailed against the men of war which had set themselves in array before the city, and drove them back into the city. Then all the men of SIRAP said one to another, Behold, all these nations are come against us, to afflict us, even as we have afflicted them ; and we have no strength to stand against them: let us now go out and make supplication unto them: peradventure they will save our lives. So they went out and delivered up the city unto them. Then those kings spake kindly unto the men of SIRAP, saying, Be of good cheer, there shall no harm happen unto you.

Then the men of SIRAP were glad, and said, What have we to do with NOEL-OPAN? He shall not rule over us any longer. Also all the princes, the judges, the councillors, and the captains, whom NOEL-OPAN had raised up, even of the lowest of the people, sent unto SIVOL the brother of SIVOL king of ECNARF, whom they had slain, saying, NOEL-OPAN is a

tyrant and a murderer, and we have thrust him out from being our ruler: only the honours and the rewards and the offices which he hath given us, those will we keep; if therefore thou wilt let us keep all these things, thou shalt be our king. And SIVOL was glad, and he arose and went to ECNARF to be king over them. Now there were divers great men in ECNARF, men of renown, who had behaved themselves valiantly and fought against SIVOL, and his house, and against the kings which took part with him: all these did NOEL-OPAN greatly reward, and promoted them to be chiefs over the people. So all these men took SIVOL and made him king over ECNARF; and they were made princes, and councillors, and judges, and chief captains under him.

And when NOEL-OPAN saw that the kingdom was departed from him, he said unto the ruler of SATURIA, and the other rulers which came against him, Let me, I pray you, give the kingdom unto my son: but they would not hearken unto him. Then he spake yet again, saying, Let me, I pray you, go and

live in ABEL; and ye shall give me an allowance for me and my household, and the land of ABEL also for a possession. So they sent him to ABEL, and NOEL-OPAN dwelt at ABEL, and ruled over it. To his brethren also, and to his mother, they gave silver and gold. But the wife of NOEL-OPAN, even the daughter of the ruler of SATURIA, whom he had married, she and the son that she bore to NOEL-OPAN, received an inheritance of the hand of her father in the land of AI-LATI: So she saw the face of her husband no more.

CHAP. IV.

IN those days there arose a sore famine in the land of YAVRON, which is in the North Sea, over against KRAMNED. And it came to pass on this wise: the king of KRAMNED, who is the king of YAVRON, was at peace with the other rulers of EPORUE; and NOEL-OPAN, ruler of ECNAREF, said unto REDNAXELA, ruler of

AISSUR, Behold the king of KRAMNED hath ships; go to, let us cause his ships to fight for us against the king of NIATIRB; peradventure we may prevail over him. And REDNAXELA, ruler of AISSUR, hearkened unto the words of NOEL-OPAN; so they conspired together. But when the king of NIATIRB heard thereof, he sent and took away the ships of the king of KRAMNED. Then was the king of KRAMNED wroth, and warred against the king of NIATIRB. And the ruler of AISSUR, even REDNAXELA, and the ruler of NEDEWS also, which was an ECNARFITE, helped the NIATIRBITES against the KRAMNEDITES and ECNARFITES: so the king of NIATIRB kept the ships which the ruler of ECNARF and the ruler of AISSUR had thought to bring against him.

And the ruler of NEDEWS said unto the king of KRAMNED, Give me now YAVRON, because it is nigh unto my country; and I will make a league with thee; that we may fight against the ECNARFITES. So when the king of KRAMNED saw that he was in evil plight, he said, Be content, take YAVRON; so he

made a league with him. But the men of YAVRON said, We will not serve the ruler of NEDEWS. So they set a king over them, and strengthened themselves against the NEDEWSITES. And they said unto the ruler of NIATIRB, Behold thy people is a free people ; and ye have also delivered the NIAPSITES out of the hands of their oppressors ; let us, we pray thee, be free also ; and suffer thy people to bring us corn in ships, for money, that we may eat bread ; for we have not food enough. But the ruler of NIATIRB said, Nay, but ye shall serve the ruler of NEDEWS. So he gave commandment to all the captains of his ships that they should suffer no corn to be carried into the land of YAVRON. Thus it came to pass that the famine was grievous in the land of YAVRON. And the ruler of NEDEWS prevailed against the YAVRONITES, and bare rule over them.

And it came to pass at this time, that APAP returned unto his own land. Now the ECNARFITES, and divers other nations of EPORUE, are servants of APAP, and hold him

in reverence; but he is an abomination to the NIATIRBITES, and to the AISSURITES, and to the AISSURPITES, and to the NEDEWSITES. Howbeit the ECNARFITES had taken away all his lands, and stripped him of all that he had, and carried him away captive into ECNARE. But when the NIATIRBITES, and the AISSURITES, and the AISSURPITES, and the NEDEWSITES, and the rest of the nations that were confederate against ECNARE, came thither, they caused the ECNARFITES to set APAP at liberty, and to restore all his goods that they had taken: likewise they gave him back all his lands; and he went home in peace, and ruled over his own city, as in times past.

CHAP. V.

AND it came to pass after these things, when NOEL-OPAN had not yet been a full year in ABEL, that he said unto his men of war which clave unto him, Go to, let us go back to

ECNARF, and fight against king SIVOL, and thrust him out from being king. So he departed, he and six hundred men with him that drew the sword, and warred against king SIVOL. Then all the men of BELIAL gathered themselves together and said, God save NOEL-OPAN. And when SIVOL heard that, he fled and gat him into MUIGLEB; and NOEL-OPAN ruled over ECNARF.

And he sent unto the ruler of NIATIRB, and unto all the rulers of EPORUE, saying, Let me, I pray you, rule over ECNARF, and let there be peace between me and you. But they would not hearken unto him; but gathered together an exceeding great host to fight against him. Then NOEL-OPAN, he and all his mighty men of valour, went out and fought against the NIATIRBITES and the AIS-SURPITES and the MUIGLEBITES, in the plain country of MUIGLEB. And there was a very sore battle that day; and the NIATIRBITES prevailed against the ECNARFITES, and smote them with a very grievous slaughter. Then NOEL-OPAN fled, and returned to SIRAP; but

the people thrust him out from being ruler over them. So he went and gave himself up into the hands of the NIATIRBITES, and said, I pray you let me dwell in your country. But they sent him away to another island, in a far country, and set a watch over him, even armed men, and ships of war on every side. And king SIVOL returned to ECNARF and ruled over the ECNARFITES, as his fathers had reigned in time past.



C O M M E N T A R Y.

C H A P. I.

THIS curious document has lately come into my possession, in a way which I am not at present quite at liberty to explain. A small fragment of it has already been printed by the ingenious author of *Historic Doubts respecting Napoleon Buonaparte*, who, taking advantage of a striking parallel between this story and some supposed recent events, altered the ancient names* for modern ones. The parallel

* With respect to these names, which might at first sight seem a little suspicious, I must request the reader to suspend his judgment. A distinguished Irish antiquary, whose labours are known and valued as they deserve through all Europe, has assured me that he finds traces of them in the

is no doubt curious; but, perhaps, more curious than just. But if the hypothesis of that critic be correct, it may serve to show that

Eugubian tables, and cognate inscriptions in the Ogham character. The name of NIATIRB is probably compounded of נָבָ or, in the *plenior scriptio*, נָרָא or רָא (ר and נ being originally the same letter), which occurs in such names of places as No-ammon (Nahum iii. 8), &c. &c., which probably denotes dwelling, abode (compare ναίειν, ναδος), and תְּרֵבָה, the name of the god of spoil (cf. Ps. lxxvi. 5), or תְּרֵבָה (cf. Heb. תְּרֵבָה), the god of *usury*—*i. e.* Plutus. Many things, indeed, make it probable that Gain was the deity chiefly worshipped in NIATIRB. Similar traces of Hebrew radicals occur in the Book of Mormon, which has quite as large a substratum of fact as the Jewish histories. See in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1843 (*Viertes Heft*, Hamburg, 1843), some curious evidence produced from Daumer (on the Moloch-worship of the ancient Hebrews) of an early connexion (through Abraham) between Palestine and America. He has tried to show (p. 260—in the Review, p. 1037), that the original name of that continent was Noah. But it may be questioned whether he has not mistaken the important isle NIA or NOA-TIRB for the continent itself. The ludicrous attempt to identify the name with *Britain* (by reading it backward!) can hardly be seriously meant, and is worthy only of Dean Swift. Nor can that wild attempt be even consistently carried out. What, *e. g.* can be made of SAITURIA, and EGUL-

the framers of the legend of Buonaparte worked upon a model already in existence, a phenomenon not unfrequent in myths. With this, however, I have no direct concern. The critic of whom I speak, applying the philosophical principles of evidence, as a test, justly pronounced the story here given *as a whole* incredible. It did not suit his purpose to go farther into details, nor, indeed, would the coarse way of dealing with ancient narratives

SUMLI? Yet these names may be readily illustrated by the lights of the Indo-Semitic dialects. Delitzsch (Jesurun, p. 220) has shown that *ür*, in Sanskrit, *ura*, is a proper Semitic termination, as in בְּפַתְּרוֹר from בְּפַתְּר, and צָפְרָר from צָפֵר. This gives זָרְתָּרָר, or, in the Sanskrit form, *Zaitura* = *Saituria*, as the “olive-land :” and this shows us why the Σάτυροι were, in the Greek mythology, represented as the companions of Bacchus; “wine and oil” being associated in the ideas of the ancients.

EGUL-SUMLI is equivalent to the Latin name *Rorarius*, being obviously derived from נֶגֶל, *dew* (Job xxxviii. 28), and נִמְלָא, *to resemble*. Compare the Hebrew description of a good prince,—

Like rain shall he fall upon the mown grass :

Like the drops that bedew the soil.—Psalm lxxii. 4.

then in fashion have favoured his doing so. But a more delicate method of investigation has of late years been introduced in Germany, which has enabled us to precipitate, as it were, a certain portion of truth from the most romantic narratives, and make even mythic legends supply solid contributions to legitimate history. Such a method it is my wish to apply in the present instance, referring the reader for a minute delineation of it to Strauss's admirable preface to the *Leben Jesu*, and Mr. Newman's *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth*.

This document (though professing to be the chronicles of ECNARF) is plainly the work of a NIATIRBITE. It dates from the days of EGROEG, king of NIATIRB; and the design of exalting that island (whether justly or not) is so manifest all through the narrative, that it must strike the reader even at first glance.

Taking, then, this clue with us, and reviewing the whole document in the light of "the higher criticism," we shall find little difficulty in arriving at the substantial truth.

Guided by a fixed ruling principle, we shall discover that a consistent thread of fact lies at the bottom of this tangled tissue, which may, in most instances, be brought out entire, when sought for with a keen eye and a steady hand.

The very opening of the narrative is full of contradictions, which at once betray their origin.

“SIVOL,” it is said, “was a just man and merciful.” We are told this in immediate connexion with the statement that he ruled over ECNARF, “*even as his* fathers had reigned before him.” Yet, in the very next sentence we find the people complaining that his fathers (these princes who had reigned like the just and merciful SIVOL) made their yoke very grievous; and not only so, but plainly intimating that the yoke upon them still continued grievous under this just and merciful sovereign! But the purpose which was meant to be served by these flagrant contradictions soon reveals itself. The constitution of NIATIREB is to be represented, at all hazards,

as the envy and admiration of other people ; and with that aim, the subjects are to be represented as importunately demanding its introduction. The issue however of king SIVOL's supposed compliance with their demand sufficiently refutes both these absurd encomiums upon that constitution itself, and the account here given of its attempted introduction into ECNARF. The people, we are informed, immediately upon receiving *the boon they sought*, "laid hands on king SIVOL, and slew him, and all his house, and all his great men, and as many as they could find." Here we are called upon to believe that *precisely the same consequences as we might expect to attend the forcing of disagreeable laws on an unwilling people, attended the frank concession of a gift which that people earnestly desired.* This is surely too large a demand upon our credulity ; and if, rejecting such a story as a palpable misrepresentation, we turn to consider what is likely to have been the real state of facts thus coloured by an interested narrator, the next clause will afford us material assistance.

“But some fled in ships, and *got them away to NIATIRB*, and *dwelt in NIATIRB.*” We see here it was *the king’s friends* who found their natural asylum in that island, whose laws, when introduced into ECNARF, produced a revolution that overturned a very ancient dynasty, and occasioned the execution of the prince and his chief adherents. It needs no peculiar sagacity to discern the truth through this almost transparent veil of fiction. SIVOL was just and merciful, because he was the friend of NIATIRB. *All*, we must observe, who adhere to that island are *just** in the language of this document; while *all* who oppose its interests are, as a matter of course, depicted as monsters of cruelty and perfidiousness. He attempted (perhaps he may have coloured the attempt by bribing some of the populace to demand it)—He attempted to force the odious “laws and ordinances” of

* So afterwards, “Behold these kings are *merciful* kings.” Michaelis (ad Lowth, *Praelect.* p. 534) has remarked a similar usage of the words “wicked” and “righteous” in the Hebrew Scriptures.

NIATIRB upon a reluctant nation. His outraged subjects rose in defence of their rights. Possibly he and his chief adherents may have perished in the conflict. But that there was no such wholesale massacre as the words at first might seem to imply, the document itself makes evident, by confessing that “*some* fled in *ships*” [observe the plural number], “and got them away to NIATIRB,” where they naturally looked for, and naturally found, protection.

To any one who is thoroughly aware of the prejudiced tone of the narrative, the next paragraph will sound as little more than the writer’s peculiar way of saying, that the ECNARFITES established a constitution which, in its liberality, contrasted strongly with the tyrannous government of the king of NIATIRB and his brother despots. The document itself makes it sufficiently plain that its statements cannot be taken as literally true. For after telling us that the ECNARFITES had resolved to “do every one as seemed right in his own eyes,” it incidentally admits that “they had

chosen councils of elders and set judges over them." These are not the proceedings of a lawless mob ; but it is no new thing for the bigoted admirers of monarchy to traduce all republican institutions as mere anarchy and confusion. And that this really lies at the bottom of the gross exaggeration before us, becomes more and more manifest as we proceed. The ECNARFITES, it is said, proposed not only to be free themselves, but to "set free other nations." Now, this supposes that, in their opinion, other nations were not *free*. And, throughout the whole of the document, it is not so much as once pretended that the nations on the *continent* of EPORUE were free. On the contrary, it seems everywhere implied that the princes of the various people there enumerated were despots in the most odious sense of the term, and their subjects really slaves. The happy isle of NIATIRB is the one exception ; the laws of which are earnestly desired by suffering subjects as a light and easy yoke. Yet, no sooner do the ECNARFITES assert their freedom, than the king of NIATIRB

is seized with the same panic as the other princes. He makes common cause with them, and for the same reason. An *intention* of the enfranchised ECNARFITES to set other people free is, indeed, alleged; but no overt act of hostility on their part is specified. The contagious influence of their example, not the aggressive power of their armies, is manifestly the thing dreaded; “For they said, lest *our people* slay us.” Truly, “it is conscience that makes cowards of us all.” If the king of NIATIRB had felt that his case was an excepted one, and that his people felt themselves under the administration of equal laws and in the enjoyment of political rights—that they were already what could with any propriety of speech be called a *free* people—he would never have given way to such unreasonable apprehensions; still less, if the visible effects of the revolution in ECNARF were such as are here described:—“The ECNARFITES slew one another with a great slaughter. Moreover, there was a sore dearth in the land, and the people were

greatly impoverished." What was there, let me ask, in the spectacle of such a state to seduce a *free* people, possessing already a liberal and just constitution—a people affluent, as we are told, chap. ii., in all the luxuries of life—to follow an example so disastrous in its consequences, and to follow which they had so few temptations?

Honesty, however, compels me to confess that I do not lay much stress upon the representation here given of the state of ECNARF, as furnishing a ground for this argument, which is quite strong enough without it. That representation is chiefly worth attending to, as manifesting the *animus* of the narrator himself, who seems (under the usual prejudices of persons reared under despotism) to confound, or wish his readers to confound, the ideas of freedom and anarchy, and to recognise no distinction between oppression and licentiousness. No rational person, indeed, who ventures to examine for himself, can fail to perceive that the picture here drawn of the disturbances which may possi-

bly have attended the sudden attainment of liberty in ECNARF is, to say the least of it, grossly overcharged in the colouring. If that nation were indeed reduced by civil dissension and famine to the condition here described, they *could not be* such an object of terror to the surrounding people; nor would their subjugation require the combined forces of so many princes conspiring in a league against them. But when it is added that a people thus weakened by mutual slaughter and famine not only resist such potent assailants, but subdue them;—not only protect their own soil, but carry their conquests far and wide over the land of their enemies;—the story sinks under its own inconsistencies. Still this does not imply that we are to reject the whole as a pure fiction. Let us cast away that which the writer had a manifest object in mis-stating. His enmity to ECNARF would not lead him to magnify its successes, but it might well lead him to falsify the history of its state under the new *anti-Niatirbit* constitution. Discounting then, as it were,

this envious fiction, we shall find that the *facts* elicited from his whole statement are as follows:—An endeavour to introduce the Laws of NIATIRB into ECNARF was made in the reign of SIVOL; the consequence of that attempt was a general rising of the people, in which SIVOL and his principal adherents lost their lives, the remainder flying into NIATIRB, where they were received as friends. Thereupon the ECNARFITES resolved to be free, and established a government by Councils of Elders and Judges. In consequence of these proceedings the king of NIATIRB, and other princes of EPORUE, became alarmed lest their subjects should follow the example of the ECNARFITES, and formed a league for the purpose of crushing them. Nevertheless, the state of ECNARF became so strong, under its new institutions, that it not only resisted their assault, but extended its dominion over a large portion of the continent of EPORUE.

These, I say, are *the simple facts* presented by the document itself. I have not *added a single tittle* to the statements made by the

chronicler. I have only removed some manifestly inconsistent and exaggerated representations introduced for an obvious purpose, by which they were overlaid. And I think I may safely leave it to the intelligent reader himself to draw the proper inference from these *facts*. We have now then gained at last firm footing, and may proceed, with less hesitating steps, to make our way through the quaking mire of falsehood and misrepresentation which surrounds us.

The next paragraph—making allowance as before for hostile *colouring*—may be allowed to have a basis of fact. The ECNARFITES probably found it necessary to levy such contributions as are usually levied by conquerors in the countries occupied by their troops; which may also have been greatly inconvenient to a people already impoverished by the oppressive exactions of their native princes.

There is much internal probability also in the next statement. Islands have ever been famous (since the days of Minos) for their

naval power; and the NIATIRBITES may, very likely, have had such an advantage by sea over their continental neighbours as is here described. The frank admission that their forces were inferior by land, adds to the verisimilitude of the narrative. But I shall show presently that, as we might expect, their success in naval warfare was not so absolutely *uniform* as this writer would have us to believe. Taken, however, with the requisite abatements, this paragraph also may be admitted as a statement of facts.

But the complexion of the next statement will justify greater hesitation.

A person (NOEL-OPAN)* now enters upon

* This, I have no doubt, was not his real name, but the *nickname* under which he was known in NIATIRE. NOEL-OPAN is neither more nor less than the "Godless Revolution." נולען, as Gesenius justly observes, is radically equivalent to *verneinen*, *vernichten*, to deny or annihilate. As a particle, it answers to the Greek negative, *νη* (in *νήπιος*, *νημερτής*, &c.) —the Latin *ne* or *non*—the English *no*—the German *nein*—the Arabic لـ. EL (לـ) as every one knows, is the name of God: NOEL therefore is the same as ἀθεος, *godless*. פָּאָרְאָן OPAN, actually occurs as the name of a *wheel* in Ezekiel, in

the scene, whom it is the manifest wish of this writer to hold up as an object of dread and aversion to the people of NIATIRB.

The rules of evidence, therefore, demand that we should watch his proceedings jealously when dealing with such a character; and remembering that we have no contemporary ECNARFITE counter-statement to set against his prejudiced testimony, give that nation the benefit of any doubt which may be raised by the tenour of the narrative. We should deal, in short, as if we were handling a Hebrew priest's uncorroborated account of the Baal-worshippers, or a Davidite's description of the kingdom of Israel. Bearing, then, all

Exod. xiv. 25, and many other places. In its contracted form, יְמָן, it denotes a *period* or *revolution* of time. It is impossible to resist these little obvious, but on that account more striking, evidences of the antiquity of the document. The framers of the story of Napoleon were, I fancy, aware of the true etymology of NOEL-OPAN. Hence they represent a great literary bugbear (Lord Byron) as signing his name, "NOEL-BYRON,"—just as Shelley is said to have written ἄρεος after his name in the album at Chamouni.

this in mind, let us examine the statement before us.

"There was a certain man of AKISROC, whose name was NOEL-OPAN." In another MS. I find the remarkable addition, "a man of the *island* of AKISROC." This great man, then, was an *islander*, and therefore, as we have seen, not unlikely to supply the ECNARFITES with what they most needed,—an officer well skilled in the management of fleets. If we admit this easy hypothesis, it will account for much that might otherwise seem startling in the narrative. It will show us how one, not a native ECNARFITE, should attain such eminence as is here attributed to the AKISROCAN NOEL-OPAN, or personification of the Godless Revolution. He and his islanders now take the lead, because the State is engaged in naval affairs, in which the ECNARFITES were notoriously deficient; for that the war in SUTPYGE *involved*, at least, large marine operations, is evident (though that fact is industriously obscured) from the language of the narrative, where it tells us, that the king

of NIATIRB "sent *ships of war* and valiant men to fight against the ECNARFITES." Again: this hypothesis will account for the ECNARFITES now venturing on a distant naval expedition, a step which would be otherwise highly improbable, considering their previous frequent reverses at sea.

I think we may fairly assume, then, that this expedition to SUTPYGE was principally a naval expedition, if not wholly such. Certainly, whatever is here told us of land operations is little more than pure fable. It is quite impossible to believe that the presence of "*certain* of the NIATIRBITES" in ERCA, should have been sufficient to defeat such a chieftain as NOEL-OPAN, when we know, from this writer's own admission, that the NIATIRBITES were, even in large armies, quite inferior by land to ECNARFITE soldiers. But if there were really no considerable land-operations in this war, of which any true records remained, here was precisely just one of those blank spaces which the mythic fancy loves to fill with imaginary incidents. Where there

were *real* battles by land, even this historian cannot pretend that the NIATIRBITES reaped many laurels; but, to save their credit, he conjures up in a distant region a fantastic campaign of his own, where they may safely enjoy—

Occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.

Nor does it militate against this view, that we find that NOEL-OPAN overcame the Princes of *the land* of SUTPYGE. Those princes (if there were any such) were the deputies of a foreign Sovereign, the ruler of YEKRUT. It is natural to suppose that the native population were ready enough to rise against them; so that nothing more was necessary than the reduction of their fortresses, (situated most likely on the sea-coast,) and the supply of arms to the natives of the country. All this might be effected by a naval expedition.

The expedition then, I repeat, was almost entirely a *naval* one; and it seems equally certain that it was *successful*. The historian, indeed, assures us, that “NOEL-OPAN left the

captains and the army, and fled." But what I have before said will readily account for the former statement, and what he himself adds sufficiently refutes the latter.

That NOEL-OPAN returned *without* an army is, I think, a fact. The prejudiced chronicler *accounts* for this fact in his own peculiar way, by saying that he *left the army behind*. But if I am right, the reader sees that we do not need any forced *account* of the matter at all. He returned without an army, because he had gone without an army.

Now, secondly, as to his flight. He must have fled, if he fled at all, *by sea*. Indeed, my MS. says expressly—"and fled away *in ships*." But we do not need that help. This point has been proved already. Now, we may ask, how could he possibly have *escaped* in this way? The King of NIATIRB, we are told, was undisputed master of the sea. He had "exceeding many ships of war," nay, his fleet is described in Chap. II., as watching "round *all the coasts* of ECNARF, that *none* might come in or go out." Plainly NOEL-

OPAN could only have *escaped* such a guard as this by *conquering* it.*

And that conquer it he did, is still more demonstratively evident from the result. “Then the ECNARFITES took NOEL-OPAN, and made him ruler over them.” This is *not* the

* To these arguments we may add another philological one, which (as less certain in itself) I reserve for a note. In the name SUTPYGE, the first syllable is evidently equivalent to our *South*, Germ. *Süd*—, which appears transposed in the Latin AUST-ER—*Saut-er*: while the other syllable is as plainly connected with the Semitic פָּרָג, *frigere*. The name, then, indicates some region near or within the Antarctic Circle; which could hardly be valuable but as a naval or fishing station. YEKRUT connects itself with רְקֻוֹת (in the form cf. בְּרֻחָה, from בְּרַחָה,) “to be green.” I understand by it, some of the verdant Australian regions: but the great antiquary before referred to thinks that it plainly indicates “the *Emerald Isle*”—“the *green* Isle of the West.” It must be allowed that the story of St. Brandan’s voyages, and the legend of O’Brazil, seem to show a very early connection between Ireland and the New World. But *penes lectorem esto judicium.* The great *distance* of YEKRUT, on this hypothesis, would sufficiently account for our hearing no more of its monarch in the rest of the history, and for his leaving the defence of SUTPYGE wholly to his ally, the king of NIATIRB.

return which people make to a baffled chieftain, and that chieftain a stranger, who has basely abandoned his captains and his army, and brings back nothing but the fatal consequences of disaster, and the indelible shame of defeat; but it *is* the recompence which a grateful people might well bestow upon a victorious warrior, who has restored power where there had been weakness—who has humbled the boasting enemy in his own element, and by some hardly-hoped-for success, achieved imperishable renown for himself and for his adopted country.

CHAP. II.

WITH what precise powers NOEL-OPAN was invested, on becoming “Ruler of ECNARF,” it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to discover. We shall find, however, substantial proofs hereafter, that his authority was not *despotical*, but limited by a constitution

acceptable to the country. His office was very probably somewhat similar to that of a modern "President," or "Doge," and an ancient "Archon," or "Consul." Immediately upon his elevation, we find him (in a manner wholly inconsistent with the ambitious and overbearing character here attributed to him) making voluntary overtures of peace to the king of NIATIRB, and persisting in them too, in spite of the contemptuous manner in which they were at first received. He felt, no doubt, the strength and lustre of his own position; and in the glory of his late victories, and with the united support of a grateful nation, he could afford to despise the petty insolence of an irritated, because humbled, antagonist. He was resolved to restore tranquillity to the Continent; and he was conscious of having the power to coerce the NIATIRBITES, if necessary, to come to reasonable terms. The king of NIATIRB, after some blustering, soon showed that he also understood the nature of the crisis; and, after a period of negotiation, peace at last was made.

Peace, however, which was sincerely desired by NOEL-OPAN for his own sake, was regarded by the king of NIATIRB merely as a breathing-space to prepare for a fresh and more desperate struggle;

“Mox reficit rates
Quassas.”

We find him soon once more in the possession of a numerous and powerful navy. But (in a manner quite at variance with the story of his recent wonderful victories over the ECNARFITE army in Sutpyge) he trusts wholly for *land-forces* to the assistance of his continental allies, whom he perfidiously “stirs up” against NOEL-OPAN, during the very peace which that ruler’s clemency had granted. No wonder that, under such circumstances, NOEL-OPAN should be “wroth,” and resolve to crush for ever so troublesome and faithless an enemy. That the delay of his expedition into NIATIRB was wholly owing (as this chronicler would fain persuade us) to the watchfulness of its fleets, is hardly credible. It

seems much more probable that the great ECNARFITE commander was diverted from that object by the more pressing assaults of his immediate assailants on shore. I need not warn the reader to set down as exaggerations the account given of NOEL-OPAN's hard treatment of his enemies. We are by this time prepared for such statements, and refer them, as a matter of course, to their real origin.

How far the chronicler was prepared to go in the way of misrepresentation, we have a striking instance, in the story of ZEDNANREF. At first sight, it appears one monstrous mass of glaring falsehoods and contradictions ; but, on a nearer view, the way clears, and a remarkable paragraph at the end puts the clue into our hand, which we may safely follow.

ZEDNANREF, we are there told, upon his return to NIAPS* rewarded the adherents of

* NIAPS is clearly a Hebrew or Phœnician formative. נִפְאָס, as we have already seen, is a *local* prefix. נִפְאָס denotes an *extremity*; and it occurs as part of the name of a place in the tribe of Judah, 1 Sam. xvii. 1. NIAPS was probably an extreme peninsula of EPORUE. If we take נִפְאָס as

PHESOI, and punished those persons who, during his absence, had taken up arms in his name. As it is confessed that he was, at this time at least, perfectly a free agent, we cannot construe such a proceeding otherwise than as a deliberate declaration on his part, that he regarded PHESOI's friends as *his* friends, and PHESOI's enemies as *his* enemies. The story, then, of his having been entrapped by NOEL-OPAN, and kept a prisoner in ECNARF, vanishes of itself. But we may go farther. The crafty king of NIATIRB would never have sent out a large army into NIAPS for the mere unselfish purpose of restoring the legitimate monarch to his rights. He must have de-

the true expression, and suppose שַׁׁחַן (lit. *the nose of fire*) to denote a volcano, we may identify NIAPS with the *Terra del Fuego* of modern geographers. To this latter hypothesis I rather incline. EPORUE (compare the modern *Peru* and ancient *Ophir*, and the dual form, בְּרֵוִים, *Parvayim*—i. e. *the two Perus*, or North and South America, 2 Chron. iii. 6) will then be fixed as *South America*. The YNCAS or YCNAS were possibly an ECNARFITE dynasty, the heavy final syllable of ECNARF dropping its consonants, to lighten the pronunciation.

signed (if any such expedition were made at all) to establish his own, and destroy the influence of NOEL-OPAN in that quarter. Is it credible, then; that he should have permitted this mere puppet-prince, restored by the force of the NIATIRBITE arms, to follow (even if he were absurdly so inclined) a policy fatal to the very objects for which he had expended so much blood and treasure ?

“Credat JUDÆUS APPELLA !

“Non ego.”

This, I think, must be left to the maintainers (if there be still any such) of the literal accuracy of the Jewish histories. The story, then, of the forcible restoration of ZEDNANREF by the triumphant NIATIRBITES vanishes, like that of his forcible detention.

What the real facts of the case were, it may not be quite easy to determine: but the following appears at least a *probable* account of them.

We have heard already of the fears entertained by the princes of EPORUE lest their

subjects should follow the example of the ECNARFITES. Those fears were not groundless ; and we may well suppose that the people of many states were struck by the vast advantages which the ECNARFITES had reaped from their revolution. Amongst these we should reckon the people of NIAPS, though there was doubtless a strong party in that country who adhered, with bigoted tenacity, to the old *régime*. Tumults and confusion were the consequence. ZEDNANREF, ignorant (as his education had left him) of the mode of managing liberal institutions, found himself incapable of dealing with this trying crisis : he retired into ECNARF, and placed himself under the direction of his best friend, NOEL-OPAN, where he might have a safe opportunity of watching the operation of the new machinery, as guided by such a master-workman. Meanwhile (unquestionably at ZEDNANREF's own request) PHESSI, the brother of NOEL-OPAN, was sent to undertake the administration of affairs in NIAPS. Hereupon the disaffected champions of tyranny spread

a report that their lawful king was kept a prisoner by the perfidious ruler of ECNARE, and took arms, in pretended assertion of his claims. The efforts of PHESOI were nevertheless crowned with a fortunate issue; and the slanderous story was in due time refuted by the re-appearance of ZEDNANREF, who came back unshackled by any conditions, and with full liberty to act as he pleased. The first act of the grateful monarch was to disavow all participation in the base calumnies which had been circulated to blacken his magnanimous benefactor. He *confirmed* PHESOI's officers in their places, and imprisoned or banished those who had traitorously abused his name, and whom PHESOI had nobly declined to punish by his own authority. ZEDNANREF's conduct, then, appears (when the truth is seen) to have been as wise and honourable, as it seems base and infatuated in the narrative of this blind partisan. But the chronicler calculated his story for the meridian of NIATIRB; or perhaps only gave currency to

the traditional legend which he found there received.

The story which comes next, about the burning of the NIATIRBITE merchandise, I was at first inclined to reject as a mere fiction—"a weak invention of the enemy." But a curious fragment of what seems (from its feebler and more prolix style) a later continuation of these chronicles, has since come into my hands, which shows, I think, that *it*, too, may have some historical foundation. The fragment is this: "There were merchant-men in NIATIRB who traded to the land of ANICH, and had large traffic with it. They went thither in ships, and brought thence very costly merchandise—even bitter herbs. For the ANICHIMS love the bitterness of those herbs, and steep them in water, and drink thereof. But the NIATIRBITES love it not; but they put sugar therewith to sweeten it. So the merchant-men went, year by year continually, to the land of ANICH for the bitter herbs; and gave in exchange money, even gold and silver, in great abundance. And

the profit of their traffic was great; and the merchant-men grew rich exceedingly.

“Then those merchant-men said among themselves: Behold our silver and our gold goeth out unto ANICH, and returneth not again, and we bring nothing thence but only these bitter herbs. Moreover the ANICHIMS enhance the price on us, so that we shall be impoverished. Go to: let us bring them hardware, and articles of curious workmanship. Peradventure they will take them in exchange.

“Then those merchant-men took hardware and articles of curious workmanship, and brought them to the land of ANICH, and set them before the ANICHIMS. But the ANICHIMS answered them, and said, Nay, but we will have gold and silver.

“Then the merchant-men said among themselves the second time, Go to, let us try them with broad cloth and with fustian, and with divers kinds of cotton goods, and of woollen. But the ANICHIMS answered them the second time, Are not the silks and mus-

lins of ANICH better than all the broad cloth and the fustian of NIATIRB? And they laughed them to scorn.

“Then the merchant-men were sore grieved; and they said one to another, Behold, these two times they have refused our goods: What shall we do therefore?

“Then rose up a certain wise man and said unto them, Try them yet a third time also, and take unto them opium, peradventure they will choose *that*. Now opium is a drug, which, when a man tasteth, he becometh mad or foolish, and pineth away, and dieth miserably.

“As soon, then, as they had set the opium before the ANICHIMS, the men of ANICH answered and said, Behold, now this is good: We will give unto you our bitter herbs for opium; and, if that be not enough, take ye of us also gold and silver, as the price thereof shall be.

“So the merchants were glad when they heard that; and they brought out opium in their ships year by year, and sold it to the

ANICHIMS; and the ANICHIMS took it, and they became mad or foolish, and pined away, and died miserably.

"Then the king of ANICH was exceeding wroth, because his people died miserably, and he sent letters unto his rulers and officers saying, As soon as these letters be come unto you, go presently and burn up all the opium that is in the land, and destroy it utterly. So the rulers and officers made diligent search, and burned up all the opium that was in the land. Howbeit, there was some left, which the rulers and officers had hidden for themselves in secret places.

"Now the queen of NIATIRB was a just queen, fearing God and doing uprightly. When, therefore, she had heard of all that the king of ANICH had done, she sent forth ships of war and valiant men, and very much artillery, to waste the land of ANICH, and to take the cities thereof, because of the opium which the king of ANICH had burned.

"Also the priests of the land of NIATIRB, which did eat at the queen's table—(she is

lady over them, and they have a tenth of all the increase of the land. Howbeit, they receive not the full tenth)—arose and said, Behold, the ANICHIMS shall be subdued before our lady the queen, and the trade of the merchantmen shall be restored, which the king of ANICH hath cut off: let us, therefore, now send men unto the land of ANICH, to teach the ANICHIMS that they be not drunken with opium as heretofore, neither give it unto others that they may be drunken. For it is a law of the NIATIRBITES, held in reverence by all the people, that whatsoever thing they would that men should do unto them, they should do unto others likewise. Then the queen said, Send, and I will also take cities from the king of ANICH, that the men whom ye send may dwell there safely, and teach the men of ANICH the way of uprightness.”

This story is, no doubt, monstrously absurd. The costly merchandise of *bitter* herbs, fetched in ships from a great distance, for the purpose of being *sweetened* at home; the pious zeal of the good queen and her priests

(who have a right to the tenth, and yet, with the characteristic modesty of the holy tribe, do not take a full tenth)* to teach the ANICHIMS not to *use* the poison they were forced to *buy*—are sufficiently ludicrous. But, if I am not wholly mistaken, this substratum of fact remains—that the NIATIRBITES *poisoned the goods which they imported into ANICH.* I am willing to allow some weight to the character here given of the queen. She was probably no worse than her predecessors. At any rate, she was A WOMAN, and, therefore, naturally merciful. She would not, therefore, have supported this nefarious scheme, if it were not a part of the established policy of her country. As to the excellent law of practice which is said to have been held in reverence by the NIATIRBITES, it is plain that the priests must have expounded it as referring to private individuals exclusively, not to the public

* On the antiquity of tithes, see Selden and Spelman. The first notice we have of *tithes* occurs in the case of Abraham, who, as Daumer has proved, certainly came from America.

policy of states and princes.* In all ages, indeed, casuists have held a distinction between these two cases; and not only Hobbes and Machiavelli, but Christian divines, have stretched the license of sovereigns very far.

If then, as we may now assume, THE POISONING OF MERCHANTISE was an established part of the state craft of NIATIRE, we have a very reasonable account of NOEL-OPAN's conduct in burning their wares, and exhorting his allies to follow his example. If we reject this account, we must suppose that this man, who had risen by his own talents to the chief

* At any rate, the NIATIRBITES no doubt reverenced it as an *excellent rule for the ANICHIMS*. So many consider universal toleration the plain duty of all—except the true believers. And the republicans of Kentucky confine their constitutional dogmas, "all men are born free and equal," to the *whites*. Indeed, the great difference between the Northern and Southern portions of the United States leads me to suspect that the population of the latter is not so much of British as of NIATIRBITISH origin. My friend Professor Sillyman of Massachusetts has accumulated a great mass of evidence on this subject, which, it is to be hoped, he will soon publish.

place among a free and great people, was really no better than a fool !

But why, if the goods were poisoned, did not REDNAXELA, ruler of AISSUR, follow the example of NOEL-OPAN ? This may seem an objection : but, on a closer survey, it will prove a strong confirmation of our view. The fourth chapter will disclose to us the machinations of that wily sovereign so clearly, as to leave no doubt of his having throughout played a double part ; and affected a sort of friendship for NOEL-OPAN, while he was really in league with his implacable enemy. The goods, then, imported into AISSUR were *not* poisoned ; because REDNAXELA had a secret understanding with the king of NIATIRB : and the refusal of REDNAXELA to burn the NIATIRBITE merchandise was rightly taken by NOEL-OPAN as an acknowledgment that such an understanding subsisted. These multiplied confirmations, as it appears to me, place the hypothesis of the *poisoned merchandise* beyond all reasonable doubt.

I am disposed to allow that there may be

a considerable amount of truth in the account of NOEL-OPAN's campaign against the AISSURITES. We must, however, make large allowances for the warm colouring of a prejudiced narrator. There is, however, this mark of veracity to be recognised, that he allows NOEL-OPAN to have been victorious in his conflicts with human enemies. That he was ultimately obliged to retire before the severity of a Northern winter* is no impeachment of his military prowess. As Philip II. said in a like case, He waged war with men, not the elements. But that his retreat was not the total rout which is here described, is plain from the fact that we find him again immediately in the field at the head of a great host. Armies cannot be conjured up in a day by an enchanter's wand. There is also a manifest piece of falsification in representing REDNAX-

* AISSUR, or Aissour, may be the region from which the *Missouri* (מֵי אַיְשׁוּר mei-aissur—"the waters of Aissur") takes its name. It is clearly part of "the north country." AISSURPI, again,—i. e. אַיְשׁוּר פִּיר, "the mouth of AISSUR,"—would suit the geographical position of *Texas*.

ELA's subjects (the slaves of a despot!) as literally *forcing* their sovereign to refuse conditions of peace. The object of that myth is transparent. Its design is to represent the government of NOEL-OPAN as even still more odious to the people, than to the princes of foreign states,—how truly, we have already seen.

It is quite possible, indeed, that REDNAX-ELA may have drawn his unguarded enemy into a treaty, for the purpose of detaining him till winter, and then made the pretended violence of his subjects an excuse for breaking it. This would be quite in keeping with that monarch's character.

I must, however, do the chronicler the justice of observing that, in one place, an injury has been done him by the transcribers. Monstrous as some of his legends are, he could hardly have meant to say, that "the *Aissurites* set fire to Vocsom (their own capital!) and burned it." *Aissurites* is here plainly a mistake for *Ecnarfites*. The word had occurred so frequently in the preceding

sentences that the sleepy copyist unwarily substituted it here, where it makes nonsense of the passage. I do not, however, undertake to maintain the truth of even this corrected statement.

Cʜᴀᴘ. III.

THE sovereigns of AISSURPI and SATURIA appear to have been encouraged by the reverses of NOEL-OPAN to resume their old hostility. It is remarkable, however, that, in the account of this formidable confederation, we find no mention of the king of NIATIRE. The restless enmity of that monarch, no doubt, made him willing enough to join in it; but the late infamous affair of the poisoned merchandise (in which he showed himself ready to sacrifice the lives of his former allies for the sake of wounding ECNARF through their sides) had probably so disgusted the other rulers of EPORUE, that they declined his scandalous as-

sistance. In his place we have a recreant ECNARFITE, the ruler of NEDEWS,—bribed, as we shall see presently, to this base act, by the gift of a province wrested from KRAMMED.

In this war misfortune seems again to have attended the ECNARFITES. NOEL-OPAN's army, thinned by the calamities of the AISSURITE campaign, was probably now not numerous enough to cope with the overwhelming masses of the combined despots. Stratagem of some perfidious sort, seems also to have been employed. I say of *some perfidious sort*;—because the chronicler betrays uneasiness in describing it, by having recourse to a daring falsehood. He represents NOEL-OPAN as deliberately breaking down all the bridges *but one* behind his own army. If he had said, that this heroic chief broke down *all the bridges*, we might possibly credit the story. Such things have been done by military commanders to inspire their armies with the courage of desperation; though the ECNARFITE soldiery seem not to have belonged to that class which requires such mean stimu-

lants to valour.* But to break down all the bridges *but one*, would have been the act of an idiot. It would have manifested at once that he was in *meditatione fugæ*, and yet designed to make his retreat as disastrous as possible. This, I say again, is incredible. If NOEL-OPAN had not intended to retreat, but in case of defeat, to perish, like the Spartans at Thermopylæ, on the field of battle, he would have broken down *all the bridges*. If, on the contrary, he had contemplated a retreat, he would have desired to bring off his army as safely as he could ; and, therefore, would have broken *none*. The story refutes itself. But such lies are not forged gratuitously. Fixing *blame* upon NOEL-OPAN betrays a consciousness that blame must be fixed *somewhere*. We may consequently assume that it was not by any legitimate manœuvre, but by some perfidious stratagem, the bridges were broken down in the rear of

* Ethic. Nicom. iii. 11. καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων . . . παρατάττοντες πάντες γὰρ ἀναγκάζουσιν. δεῖ δ' οὐδὲ δι' ἀνάγκης ἀγδρεῖογ εἶναι, ἀλλ ὅτι καλόν.

the ECNARFITES: and, casting our eye upon the immediate context, we instinctively recognise the traitor. "Then the king of Airavab, WHOM NOEL-OPAN HAD MADE KING OF AIRAVAB, came out to stop the way against the ECNARFITES." Can there be a doubt that it was through the treachery of this man (who was probably left to guard the passes) that the bridges were broken down behind the great captain of the ECNARFITES?

Still, amidst all his unmerited misfortunes, the genius of NOEL-OPAN appears to have triumphed: and the terms of peace which he finally arranged, though they dimmed his personal splendour in point of outward rank and power, secured to ECNARF the solid good she had long struggled for; while, to all thinking men, the greatness of NOEL-OPAN in his retirement, of generous self-sacrifice, must have seemed more sublime than when in the zenith of his success. The chronicler, of course, would have us believe that NOEL-OPAN surrendered at discretion. But his own facts refute him. By his own statement it appears

that SIVOL II. was restored upon condition of leaving the Constitution of NOEL-OPAN intact, and renouncing all his brother's political connexions. The hateful "laws and ordinances of NIATIRB," which ECNARF had so long resisted, were abandoned for ever. The interest of that odious power had declined even amongst its ancient (and in some respects *natural*) allies. Circumstances had smoothed the way for a general pacification: and NOEL-OPAN, perceiving that he alone was an obstacle to this desirable conclusion, magnanimously laid down the power which he had unambitiously assumed. He had taken it for the good of ECNARF; he resigned it for the good of ECNARF. Let the reader pardon me if I seem to speak warmly. Every honest heart will feel, and every ardent one will express, a kind of exultation at rescuing a great character from the fang of calumny. The present case reminds us of the case of NIAPS: and what we then proved confirms (I think irresistibly) our account of the transaction before us. We have to deal with the same

falsehood,—only somewhat more carefully elaborated.

If further confirmation were needed, it would be found in the remaining part of the chapter. It cannot be believed (at least by any but a NIATIRBITE intellect) that, if the rulers of EPORUE had really thought NOEL-OPAN the ambitious and oppressive monster whom this historian paints him—“a tyrant and a murderer”—they would, now that they had him at their mercy, deserted by his own subjects, and reduced to beg compassion from his enemies, have put him in possession of ABEL, or given “silver and gold” to his mother and brethren! We know them by this time rather too well to credit such rash generosity on their part. Let me observe too, that, in the MS. already mentioned, of these chronicles, I find a marginal gloss upon the word ABEL, to this effect: “Behold, it is nigh unto AKISROC, and lieth in the sea, as thou sailest towards the sun-rising.” This is an important fact. NOEL-OPAN withdrew, it appears, to the scenes of his nativity. Probably, ABEL was the

larger—from its name,* we may add, the more fertile—island, upon which AKISROC depended. In this case NOEL-OPAN would have had the satisfaction of guiding, in his declining years, the fortunes of his own country, and reviving, amidst his patriotic cares, the recollections of his youth.

I pass over the incidental notices of NOEL-OPAN's domestic affairs. We have not, perhaps, light enough to judge of these private transactions. Like some other illustrious persons, he seems to have been unfortunate in his wives. But the less we meddle needlessly with the ladies the better; otherwise one might remark that, proposing to himself tranquillity in the close of his life, NOEL-OPAN

* אָבֵל “locus graminosus pascuum.” *Gesenius.* Compare the Arabic, أَبْل. It occurs in the names of places. 2 Sam. xx. 14; Numb. xxxiii. 49; Mich. vi. 5; Judg. xi. 33, &c. The expression in the gloss, “towards the sun-rising,” leads us to the etymology of AKISROC. It was considered the last island of the *west*, and more properly connected with the *east*. Hence its name, אַחִיר-זְרוֹח (achi-zroch,) “the brother of the sun-rising.” This favours the idea of its being a dependency upon ABEL.

may not have grieved very much that he saw the face of his second wife (*the daughter of the ruler of SATURIA*) no more.

CHAP. IV.

I NEED hardly pause to observe that the chronological arrangement is not exactly followed in this chapter, which plainly refers to the times of the last campaign against NOEL-OPAN, immediately before his retirement. It is a highly important piece of history, and throws much light upon the crooked policy of the king of NIATIRB, and his base associate RED-NAXELA.

According to the chronicle, this latter prince is described as, first concerting with NOEL-OPAN the employment of the KRAMNEDRTE ships *against* NIATIRB, and then *assisting* NIATIRB in its unjust detention of those very ships. Such conduct, even upon this statement, would be perfidious enough ; but it is

too absurd to be believed. The chronicler seems to have little regard to the character of REDNAXELA, and paints his meanness in its true colours ; but, in order to screen the villainy of the king of NIATIRB, he throws in a spice of fatuity which spoils the compound. Knaves, indeed, are often fools *in the long run* ; but they are not mere idiots. NOEL-OPAN, we may be sure, never published or owned any design upon the KRAMNEDITE navy ; so that the only evidence of this pretended secret plot between him and REDNAXELA, must rest upon the testimony of the latter,—the confession of an avowed *particeps criminis*. No jury ever convicted the meanest culprit on the uncorroborated declarations of a guilty informer ; and we cannot admit this impudent assertion as sufficient to implicate one, whose character has hitherto stood the test of very severe examination. This pretended league was a convenient pretext for a bold act of tyranny ; and, applying to the case the reasonable criterion of CUI BONO, we must determine that the king of NIATIRB

(who reaped the profit of the story) was the original inventor of the lie; in passing which he met with ready assistance from the frontless impudence of the unblushing REDNAXELA.

KRAMMED being thus disabled by the seizure of its fleet, the ruler of NEDEWS thought he had a good opportunity of partaking in the spoils. It is evident that he had previously bargained for the connivance of the other powers, and that YAVRON was, in fact, the price of his treachery to NOEL-OPAN. If the YAVRONITES had been misled into the belief that the king of NIATIRB was a friend to freedom, and had assisted the NIAPSITES to obtain it, they were now undeceived; and the conduct of that infamous prince (even on the representation of his own partial chronicler) in the present instance, is so inexpressibly base and cruel as to leave no doubt that I have throughout given a fairly drawn picture of him. Next to that of vindicating a hero is to be ranked the pleasure of detecting a scoundrel.

I do not pretend to clear up all the perplexities which involve the mysterious person who figures under the name of APAP. How the ECNARFITES should have been “servants to him” it is not easy to understand. But etymology* will favour the conjecture that he may have held some titular pre-eminence among the states of EPORUE (a vestige of old patriarchal connexions)—in some respects analogous to that of the German emperors in mediæval Europe. The more ferocious nations of NIATIRB and the “north country” spurned his innocent traditionalary claims to respect; which were gently acquiesced in by the milder ECNARFITES. Hence

* P and B being interchangeable, I take Apap to be equivalent to Abab, a reduplicate of **ଅବା**, *father*. Compare the Greek *πάππας*. The whole of EPORUE may have been originally one state, and Apap the lineal representative of its ancient sovereigns. So to a very late period, and after the house of Timour had really nothing left them but a small territory round Delhi, the coin, throughout the whole of what *was* their empire, was struck in the name of the GREAT MOGUL. The position of the later caliphs would furnish another analogy.

the rude people of the north described the southerns as his *servants*. We have already learned from the history of ZEDNANREF (a key which unlocks many difficulties) the true meaning of a *captivity in ECNARF*. APAP had found an asylum in that country. His restoration appears to have been one of the points insisted on by NOEL-OPAN in the general pacification; and the princes of the north, knowing that APAP was "an abomination" to their subjects, were obliged to colour their unpopular act of justice as they best could, by representing it as done to spite the ECNARFITES. If the story, after all, could not be made very consistent, that was not their fault.

CHAP. V.

WE may dismiss this chapter without much ceremony. It is a pure myth from beginning to end: probably the work of some later legendary, who was desirous of giving to the

NIATIRBITES the whole glory of finally crushing NOEL-OPAN.* They had, as we have seen, no share in the great combination of princes which led to his retirement. It was, therefore, requisite that he should be brought upon the arena once more to receive the finishing stroke from the *misericordia* of the king of NIATIRB. In other respects, this second subjugation of NOEL-OPAN is a mere repetition of the former;—just as Rebecca's adventure with Abimelech is a counterpart of Sarah's, in the harem of Pharaoh. A great battle, ending in grievous slaughter of the ECNARFITES: the flight of NOEL-OPAN to SIRAP: the eagerness of the populace to “thrust him out;” his banishment to an island,† and finally the tranquil re-establishment of SIVOL II. on the throne of ECNARF. *Ovum non ovo similius.* Homer's unhappy warriors are most unceremoniously resuscitated, when some hero's glory demands

* It is in fact what the immortal Strauss calls “a glorifying myth.”

† The expression, “another island,” is important, as a distinct admission that ABEL was an *island*.

that he should "fight his battles o'er again," and "thrice slay the slain." But NOEL-OPAN's return from ABEL and second banishment, will only be received by those who expect the grand Avatar of Prince Arthur, "rex quondam, rexque futurus," or those *similar mythic figments* which may be found in most popular creeds.

Qui Bavium non odit amet tua carmina Mævi.

Let the reader observe how many marks of the genuine myth here combine :—

1. The miraculous* complexion of the events. NOEL-OPAN returns with 600 men ! IMMEDIATELY all ECNARF submits, and SIVOL flies without striking a blow. NOEL-OPAN is

* "A second law, observable in every event, is that of succession: even in the most violent epochs, in the most rapid changes, a certain order of development may always be remarked; everything has its origin, its increase, and its decrease. . . . In fine, when we take into account all the psychologic laws, we cannot believe that a man should, on any particular occasion, feel, think, or act otherwise than as *men ordinarily act*, or as they themselves would have acted at another time."—*Leben Jesu*, § xvi.

defeated *in one battle*; and IMMEDIATELY the ECNARFITES thrust him out. SIVOL returns as rapidly as he fled; NOEL-OPAN *chooses* to surrender to his greatest enemy, the king of NIATIRB. It is really like the changes of a Christmas pantomime.

2. The expectation that a great person, whose actions have deeply impressed the public mind, should return, is a common phenomenon. And such expectations (as in the case of the Jewish Messiah) often produce a belief in their own fulfilment.

3. The honour of NIATIRB *required* this appendix.

4. The story is worked up from the materials of older legends.

5. It is inconsistent with the previous narrative.

(a). In *that*, NOEL-OPAN was thrust out as a murderer and a tyrant: In *this*, he is received with open arms.

(b). In *that*, ECNARF had just lost three great armies successively: In *this*, after less than a year's space, NOEL-OPAN is able to

raise, in that same country, another army, large enough to fight a desperate battle with the fresh troops of NIATIRB, AISSURPI, and MUIGLEB.* Unless, indeed, we suppose that NOEL-OPAN encountered the combined host with his “600 men who drew the sword.”

(c). In *that*, NOEL-OPAN’s settlement in ABEL is made freely by the assembled princes *for the purpose of removing all danger of his further interference*: In *this*, the place and circumstances seem so badly chosen that he is able to recover his throne in a few months.

(d). In *that*, the king of NIATIRB is his most hated enemy. While other princes seem disposed to deal mildly with him, and are “merciful kings ;” especially the king of SATURIA, with whom he is connected by marriage. In *this*, he chooses to surrender to

* GLEB may be the lost radical of the Latin *Gleba*. Mu (*i* is only a syllable of composition) connects itself with the Hebrew מַר, מָר, and the Coptic Mo, *water* (Jablonsky opusc. t. i. p. 152). Hence we have *Mu-i-gleb*, “the watery soil;” probably the *alluvial deposit* of the Sacramento or Amazon rivers.

the king of NIATIRB; who, instead of keeping him (as he easily might) in NIATIRB, sends him to a distant land, *for the sake of being obliged to maintain a fleet of ships to guard him.*

(e). In *that*, NOEL-OPAN always *flies* when he is left with only a small force. In *this*, he trusts himself to the people who had just driven him away with 600 men !

If this story be not a MYTH, where are mythe to be found ?

APPENDIX.

ON THE SATURIANS.

SOME remarks connected with this important point have been communicated to me by a learned friend, Professor Sillyman of Massachusetts, which I here subjoin in the shape of an *Excursus*.

“ While fully admitting the identity of the Satyrs of Greek history and the SATURIANS of these chronicles, I prefer the old Shemitic etymology סָנָה *abscondit*, to that suggested by my ingenious friend, Mr. Newlight. We may, I think, trace that etymology to an old legend, preserved by Zarate, (*Discovery of Peru*, t. ii. p. 49,) which relates that some of the people of South America were compelled to take

refuge, from a great flood, in *caverns*. Hence they may, in memory of their deliverance, have assumed the title of Saturians or Troglo-dytes.

That the Satyrs were really of American origin, appears uncontestedly from many considerations.

1. We have in Ælian (*V. H.* iii. 18) an account of a conversation between Midas (the gold-seeker) and Silenus, the chief of the Satyrs. The statements there made by the Satyr are manifestly a description of South America, mixed up with some mythical interpolations. Let the reader judge. “He said, that Europe, Asia, and Libya, were only islands surrounded by the ocean; but that the true *continent* (*Ἅπειρον*, cf. EPORUE) was that which *lies beyond this world*. He declared its magnitude to be immense, . . . and that there were many and great cities in it. . . . That there were two prii cipal ones, the *warlike* and the *just*, (compare the language of the chronicler with respect to ECNARF and its rivals) . . . that they have great

plenty of silver and gold, so that iron is more valued there than gold, &c."

Here then, I think, we have plainly a Saturian's own account of his own continent.

2. The Satyrs are expressly called by Hesychius, Δευκαλίδαι. Now there can be little reasonable doubt that the story of the Noachic or Deucalionite deluge had its origin in the knowledge of the founders of the Semitic race having come from America, emerging from

The world of waves, the sea without a shore.

The original name of (at least a part of) America was, as Daumer has proved, NOAH. That the Semitic races derived their origin from Noah, was the genuine tradition; which was disguised by the myth in question. In later times again, the mythic dove (COLUMBA NOÆ) gave occasion to the fable of *Columbus*; just as the true etymology of the name America—*أم-شريحة*, "the Mother of *Flowers*," suggested the story of *Amerigo the Florentine*.

3. Bacchus (whose story Huetius* long ago detected in the myth of Moses) was probably the hero-leader of a Saturian colony. (Plutarch, indeed, *Sympos.* lib. iv. quest. 5, p. 671,) has pointed out at large the conformity between the Bacchic and Jewish solemnities; and the distinct statement of Montesinos (given by Manasseh Ben Israel in his *Spes Israelis*, Amstel. 1650) respecting an essentially Jewish race, speaking an essentially Hebrew language, in South America, has been often laughed at but never refuted. The popular reader will find a pretty accurate but grossly prejudiced account of the matter in Basnage's *History of the Jews*, book vi. chap. 3. An American origin may be traced clearly in the myth of *Moses* being so called because taken out of *an ark floating in the water*,—the established symbol of an American colonist."

* *Demonstr. Evangel.*, Prop. iv. c. iii. § 3.

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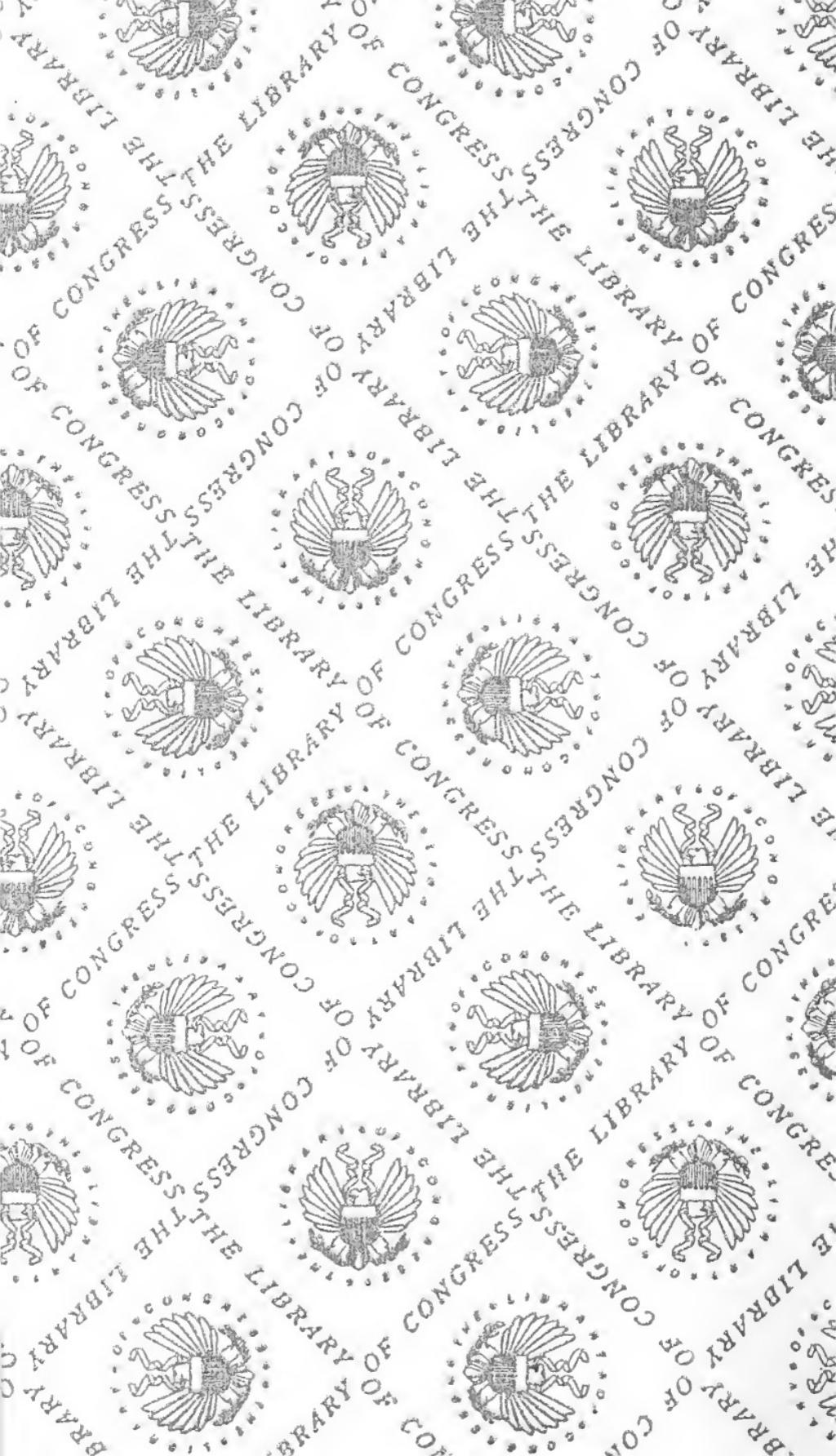
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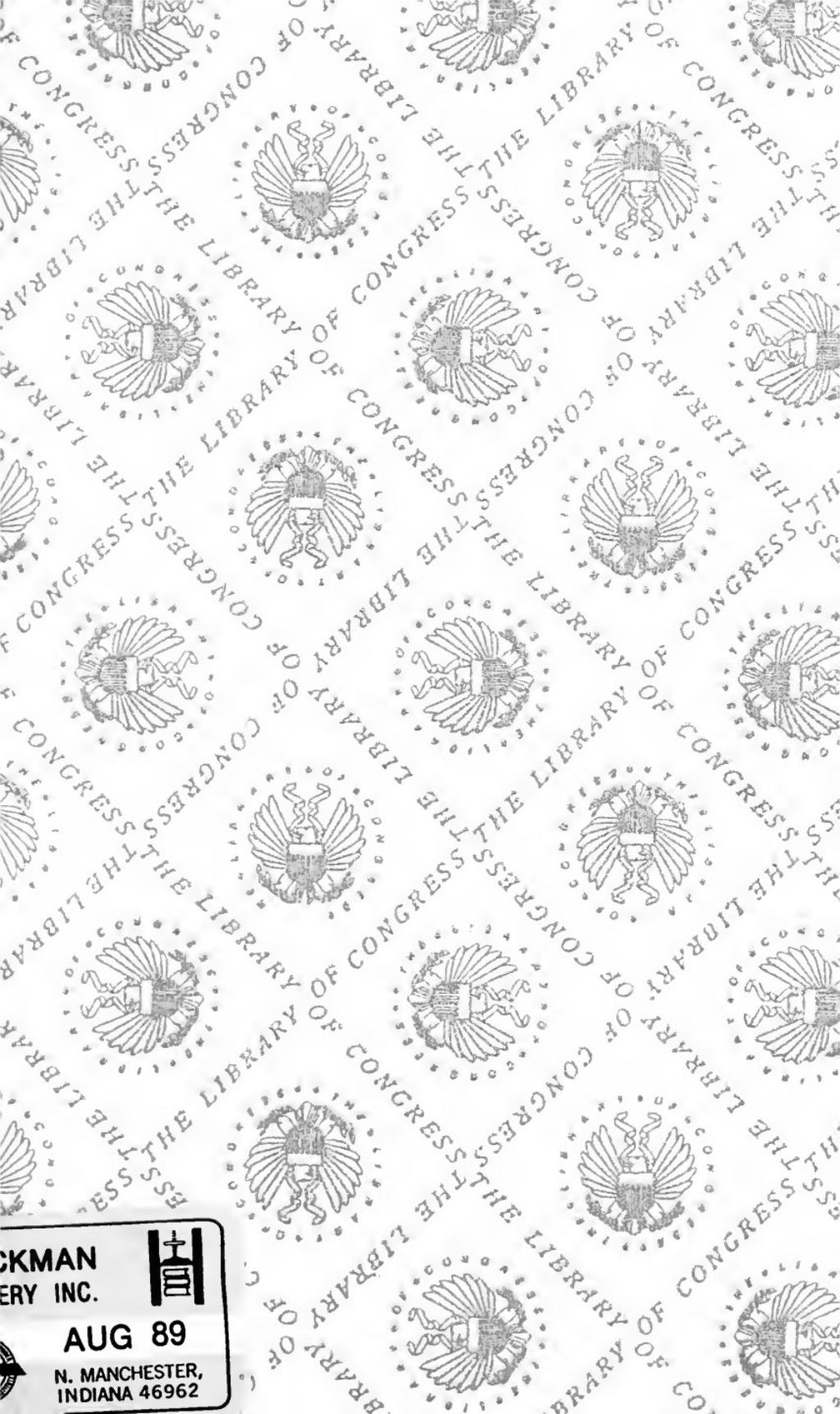
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